

86

CITY OF BERKELEY
DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT

(APPLICATION REQUESTING DESIGNATION FOR LANDMARK STATUS)

ES: Ordinance 4694-N.S. Individual Landmark \$50.00 Historical Dist. \$100.00

1. Name of Property People's Park Survey Code No. _____
2. Building _____ Site _____ Open Space x
3. County Alameda 4. City Berkeley
5. Street Bounded by Dwight Way, Bowditch, and Haste Streets
6. Vicinity (if rural) South of Campus area 2526 Haste
7. Present Occupant public park
8. Present Owner State of California LM 11/19/84
9. Original Owner (if known) Various (Site previously occupied by various houses which were razed)
10. Date of Construction 1969 11. Style Not applicable (not a building)
12. Architect/Builder N/a 13. Original Use Site has been a park since the residences were razed
14. Historic Value: national x state x county city x neighborhood x none
15. Architectural Value: national state county city neighbor- Provides viewing spacehood none x (No structure on site) for 8 architectural landmarks which encircle the Park.
16. Notable Garden or Landscaping: yes x no (See question 31)
Original innovative landscape architecture on site.
17. Photographs: contemporary Many historical Many
dates 1969; 1979 dates 1980's
photographer various photographer various
repository People's Park Council repository People's Park
Aug. 1969 Council
18. Bibliography: Published Sources Ramparts Magazine; Berkeley Gazette
Public Records State Historic Resources Inventory, Sep. 1977
Interviews
Other Readers' Guide to Per'l Lit., 1969-70, 29 entries
19. Block Number 187520. Lot No. 400121. Lot Size: Frontage 260 feet
Depth 400 feet
22. Current Zoning Status R-3-4 23. Adjacent Property Zoning Status C-1, R-5
24. Present Use: residential (single family multiple) office
store public x other specify
25. Adjacent Property Use (check all that apply): residential (single family x multiple x) office x store x public x
other specify
- 2

As State property, the Park is not on the tax rolls. U.C. purchased the area in the mid-60's for \$1.3 million with 30-35 houses/buildings included

26. Assessed Property Value: current 5 yrs. ago 10 yrs. ago
27. Present Condition of Property: ^{n/a} exterior: excellent good fair poor
Grounds are in excellent ^{n/a} interior: excellent good fair poor
condition; more ongoing grounds: excellent x good fair poor
maintenance is needed to improve appearance
28. Property Endangered: yes x no source, if yes The Park is in long-term danger of destruction by construction-oriented U.C. administration.
29. Potential New Property Uses: U.C. planning meetings have taken place with the community during the past 2-1/2 years. 90% of the input has been to maintain the area as a Park
30. History: Briefly describe the historical significance of this property.

One page history attached (follows #31 attachments)

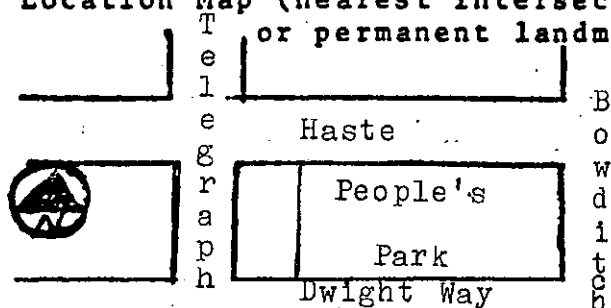
31. Architecture: Briefly describe the appearance of this structure ^{n/a} Indicate notable features as well as later alterations and changes ^{n/a} Include notable landscaping or natural features.

Berkeley has many beautiful parks, but most of them look alike. People's Park is a user-developed park which gives it a character that is unique

The East End of the Park is a botanic oasis featuring approximately 300 native California species displayed in 14 sections representing California's major plant communities.

The West End of the Park boasts raised organic vegetable beds (cont. below)

32. Location Map (nearest intersection or permanent landmark)



33. Photograph (Contact print from 35mm black and white photo).



34. Additional Comments or Continuation of Previous Answers

native woodlands, lawns, flower beds, fruit trees and landscaped slopes.

Attached is a map of the California Plant Communities in the East End.

Also attached is a list of the native trees to be found in the Park.

35. Recorder: Name David Axelrod Title Curator of the Garden
Address PO Box 463, Berkeley CA 94701 Date June 18, 1984

Co-recorder: David Blackman & Ken Stein

'Listening Group' Committee Formed Landmarks Application for Peoples Park

Several Berkeley citizens have formed a committee which they hope will act as a "listening group" for city officials, Berkeley's administrators and "Peoples Park" proponents. The committee must be organized by the end of the month, and its first meeting will be held on May 22 at the City of Berkeley's Community Center.

The committee will attempt to "listen" to the views of citizens and to present them to the City of Berkeley. The committee will also attempt to "listen" to the views of the City of Berkeley and to present them to the citizens.

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Only the Gazette

Only the Gazette
Berkeley Daily Gazette
Berkeley, California
For 91 Years the Home Newspaper of the Greater Berkeley Community

Berkeley Daily Gazette

For 91 Years the Home Newspaper of the Greater Berkeley Community

WEATHER

Low overcast, clearing later today. Mostly sunny tomorrow and tomorrow with local drizzle. Low 55-60. High 65-70. In the Bay, 55 to 65.

TROOPS TRAP, ARREST 482

Reagan to Keep Troops on Street

SACRAMENTO (UPI)—Gov. Ronald Reagan stated today that he will keep the National Guard in the streets of Berkeley until the city council has agreed to a plan to remove them. Reagan said that he will keep the troops in the streets until the city council has agreed to a plan to remove them.



JOHN F. DEAN, Governor, left, and other officials of the National Guard, right, stand in front of the National Guard building in Berkeley, Calif., today.

More than 300 persons were arrested in Berkeley yesterday on the "People's Park" controversy. The arrests were made by the National Guard and the Berkeley Police Department.

Chance of Model City Grant Dead

For all practical purposes, any chance of Berkeley receiving a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to develop a model city is dead. The grant was awarded to Berkeley by the National Endowment for the Arts.

Crucial Apollo Docking Done List Omission Causes 'Gyration'

SPACE CENTER, Houston (UPI)—America's space program is headed for a crucial Apollo docking mission today. The mission is the most important in the Apollo program.

The launch occurred at 11:11 p.m. EDT. The launch was successful. The launch was successful.

After the launch, the Apollo 11 spacecraft will orbit the Earth. The spacecraft will orbit the Earth.

Council Directs City Manager To Study TV Proposal More

In its yesterday session, the Berkeley City Council directed the city manager to study a proposal for a new television station in Berkeley. The proposal is for a new television station.

The council also directed the city manager to study the proposal for a new television station. The council also directed the city manager to study the proposal for a new television station.

Televised Discussion on Crisis Monday on KQED

Berkeley Mayor Wallace Jones will participate in a televised discussion on the crisis in Berkeley on Monday night on KQED. The discussion will be on the crisis in Berkeley.

Today's Index

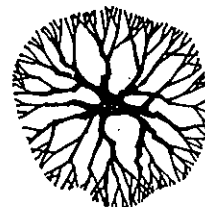
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NATIVE TREES OF PEOPLE'S PARK
Compiled by D. Axelrod, 1982

<u>Common name</u>	<u>Botanic name</u>
REDWOOD FOREST Section	
Coast Redwood	<i>Sequoia sempervirens</i>
Douglas-fir	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Tanoak; Tanbark-oak	<i>Lithocarpus densiflora</i>
Toyon; Christmas-berry	<i>Heteromeles (Photinia) arbutifolia</i>



CLOSED-CONE PINE Section	
Bishop Pine	<i>Pinus muricata</i>
Santa Cruz Island Pine	<i>Pinus remorata</i>
Knobcone Pine	<i>Pinus attenuata</i>
Monterey Pine	<i>Pinus radiata</i>
Shore Pine	<i>Pinus contorta</i>
Coast Blue Blossom	<i>Ceanothus thyrsiflorus</i>
Monterey Cypress	<i>Cupressus macrocarpa</i>
Gowen Cypress	<i>Cupressus goveniana</i>
Sargent Cypress	<i>Cupressus sargentii</i>

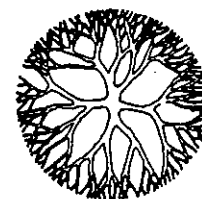


Pygmy Forest subsection	
Pygmy Cypress	<i>Cupressus pygmaea</i>
Shore Pine	<i>Pinus contorta</i>



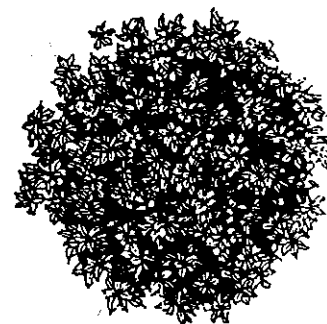
PALM DESERT Oasis	
Arizona Cypress	<i>Cupressus arizonica</i>
Desert-Olive	<i>Forestiera neomexicana</i>
Washington or Baja Cal. Fan Palm	<i>Washingtonia filifera</i> var. <i>robusta</i>

DOUGLAS-FIR FOREST Section	
Douglas-fir; Oregon Pine	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Big-Cone Spruce; So. Cal. Doug. fir	<i>Pseudotsuga macrocarpa</i>



NORTH COAST SCRUB and SEABLUFF Section	
Coast Coffeeberry	<i>Rhamnus californica</i>
Toyon; Christmas-berry	<i>Heteromeles arbutifolia</i>
Red Alder; Oregon Alder	<i>Alnus rubra</i>

GREAT BASIN Section	
Quaking Aspen	<i>Populus tremuloides</i>
White Fir	<i>Abies concolor</i>
Ponderosa Pine	<i>Pinus ponderosa</i>



SIERRAN FOREST Section	
Giant Sequoia; Big Tree	<i>Sequoiadendron giganteum</i>
Incense Cedar	<i>Calocedrus decurrens</i>
Douglas-fir	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Tanoak; Tanbark-oak	<i>Lithocarpus densiflora</i>
White Alder; Sierra Alder	<i>Alnus rhombifolia</i>

SIERRAN FOREST Section (continued)

Mock-Orange; Syringa	<i>Philadelphus lewisii</i> ssp. <i>californicus</i>
McNab Cypress	<i>Cupressus macnabiana</i>
Sugar Pine	<i>Pinus lambertiana</i>
Jeffrey Pine	<i>Pinus jeffreyi</i>
Ponderosa Pine	<i>Pinus ponderosa</i>
Big-Leaf or Broadleaf Maple	<i>Acer macrophylla</i>
Hazelnut; Filbert	<i>Corylus cornuta</i> var. <i>californica</i>
Deer Oak; Sadler Oak	<i>Quercus sadleriana</i>
Red Willow	<i>Salix laevigata</i>
Yellow Willow	<i>Salix lasioandra</i>
Antelope Brush	<i>Purshia tridentata</i>
White Fir	<i>Abies concolor</i>
Western Choke Cherry	<i>Prunus virginiana</i> var. <i>demissa</i>

OAK WOODLAND Section

Digger Pine	<i>Pinus sabiniana</i>
Blue Oak	<i>Quercus douglasii</i>
Valley Oak	<i>Quercus lobata</i>
Coast Live Oak	<i>Quercus agrifolia</i>
Canyon Live Oak; Maul Oak	<i>Quercus chrysolepis</i>
Box-Elder	<i>Acer negundo</i>
Fremont Cottonwood	<i>Populus fremontii</i>
California Buckeye	<i>Aesculus californica</i>
Common or Tree Manzanita	<i>Arctostaphylos manzanita</i>
Torrey Pine (Del Mar form)	<i>Pinus torreyana</i>

Big Sur bed (subsection)

Interior Live Oak	<i>Quercus wislezenii</i>
Coulter Pine	<i>Pinus coulteri</i>
Coast Silktassel	<i>Garreya ellyptica</i>
Mountain-Mahogany	<i>Cercocarpus betuloides</i>
California Buckeye	<i>Aesculus californica</i>
Santa Lucia Fir; Bristlecone Fir	<i>Abies bracteata</i>

MIXED EVERGREEN FOREST Section

Douglas-fir	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Hollyleaf Cherry	<i>Prunus illicifolia</i>
Coast live Oak	<i>Quercus agrifolia</i>
Grand Fir	<i>Abies grandis</i>

Monterey bed (subsection)

Black Oak	<i>Quercus kelloggii</i>
Monterey Pine	<i>Pinus radiata</i>
Monterey Cypress	<i>Cupressus macrocarpa</i>

Oregon bed (subsection)

Sitka Spruce	<i>Picea sitchensis</i>
Port Orford Cedar	<i>Chamaecyparis lawsoniana</i>
Douglas-fir	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Box-Elder	<i>Acer negundo</i>
Oregon Ash	<i>Fraxinus latifolia</i>
Calif. Bay-Laurel; Oregon Myrtle	<i>Umbellularia californica</i>
California Nutmeg	<i>Torreya californica</i>

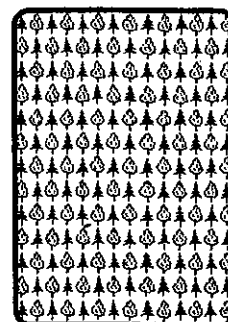


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Native Trees of People's Park, 1982

STREAMSIDE (RIPARIAN) WOODLAND Section

Arroyo Willow	<i>Salix lasiolepis</i>
Yellow Willow	<i>Salix lasiandra</i>
Red Willow	<i>Salix laevigata</i>
Nuttall or Scouler's Willow	<i>Salix scouleriana</i>
Sandbar Willow	<i>Salix hindsiana</i>
Water Birch	<i>Betula occidentalis</i> (fontinalis)
California Bay-Laurel	<i>Umbellularia californica</i>
Fremont Cottonwood	<i>Populus fremontii</i>
Buffalo-berry	<i>Shepherdia argentea</i>
Brown Dogwood	<i>Cornus glabrata</i>
Red Alder	<i>Alnus rubra</i>
White Alder	<i>Alnus rhombifolia</i>



HARDWOOD FOREST Section

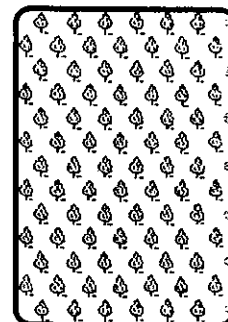
Nuttall Willow	<i>Salix scouleriana</i>
Big-Leaf Maple	<i>Acer macrophyllum</i>
Hollyleaf Cherry	<i>Prunus illicifolia</i>
California Buckeye	<i>Aesculus californica</i>
Valley Oak	<i>Quercus lobata</i>

ISLAND SCRUB Section

Catalina Ironwood	<i>Lyonothamnus floribundus</i> var. <i>asplenifolius</i>
Island Mountain-Mahogany	<i>Cercocarpus betuloides</i> var. <i>traskiae</i>
Torrey Pine (Island form)	<i>Pinus torreyana</i>
Toyon; Christmas-berry	<i>Heteromeles arbutifolia</i>

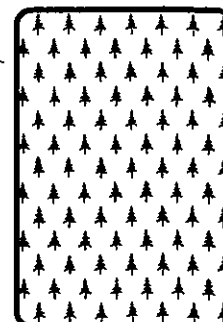
CHAPARRAL Section

Digger Pine	<i>Pinus sabiniana</i>
California Black Walnut	<i>Juglans hindsii</i>
Catalina Cherry	<i>Prunus lyonii</i>
Jim-Brush	<i>Ceanothus soledadensis</i>
Calif. Lilac "Ray Hartman"	<i>Ceanothus arboreus</i> X <i>griseus</i>
Gray-Leaf or Monterey Blueblossom	<i>Ceanothus griseus</i>
Pajaro Manzanita	<i>Arctostaphylos pajaroensis</i>



Berkeley Hills bed (subsection)

Scrub Oak	<i>Quercus dumosa</i>
Canyon Live Oak	<i>Quercus chrysolepis</i>
Coast Blue Blossom (inland form)	<i>Ceanothus thyrsiflorus</i>



CENTRAL GROVE and LAWN

Incense Cedar	<i>Calocedrus decurrens</i>
Valley Oak	<i>Quercus lobata</i>

WEST END of the Park

California Sycamore	<i>Platanus racemosa</i>
Torrey Pine	<i>Pinus torreyana</i>
Monterey Pine	<i>Pinus radiata</i>
Mexican Weeping Pine	<i>Pinus patula</i> (non-Californian)
Red Alder	<i>Alnus rubra</i>
Nuttall Willow	<i>Salix scouleriana</i>
Arroyo Willow	<i>Salix lasiolepis</i>

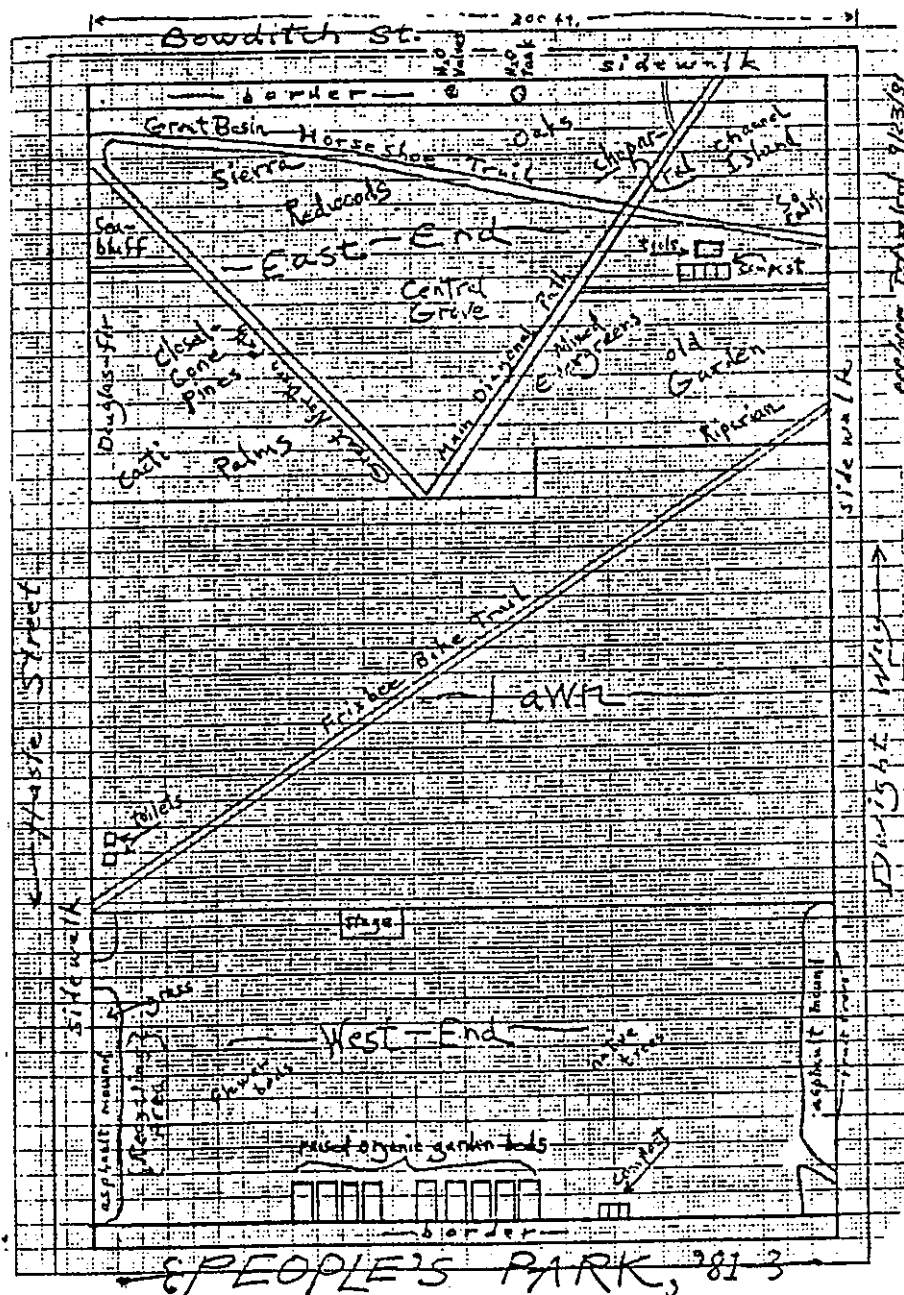
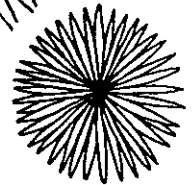
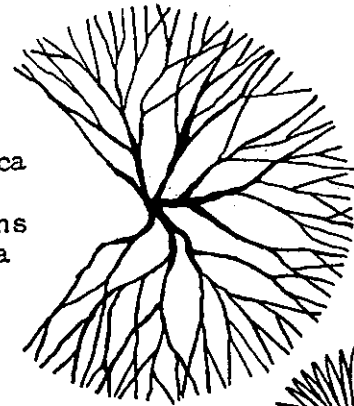
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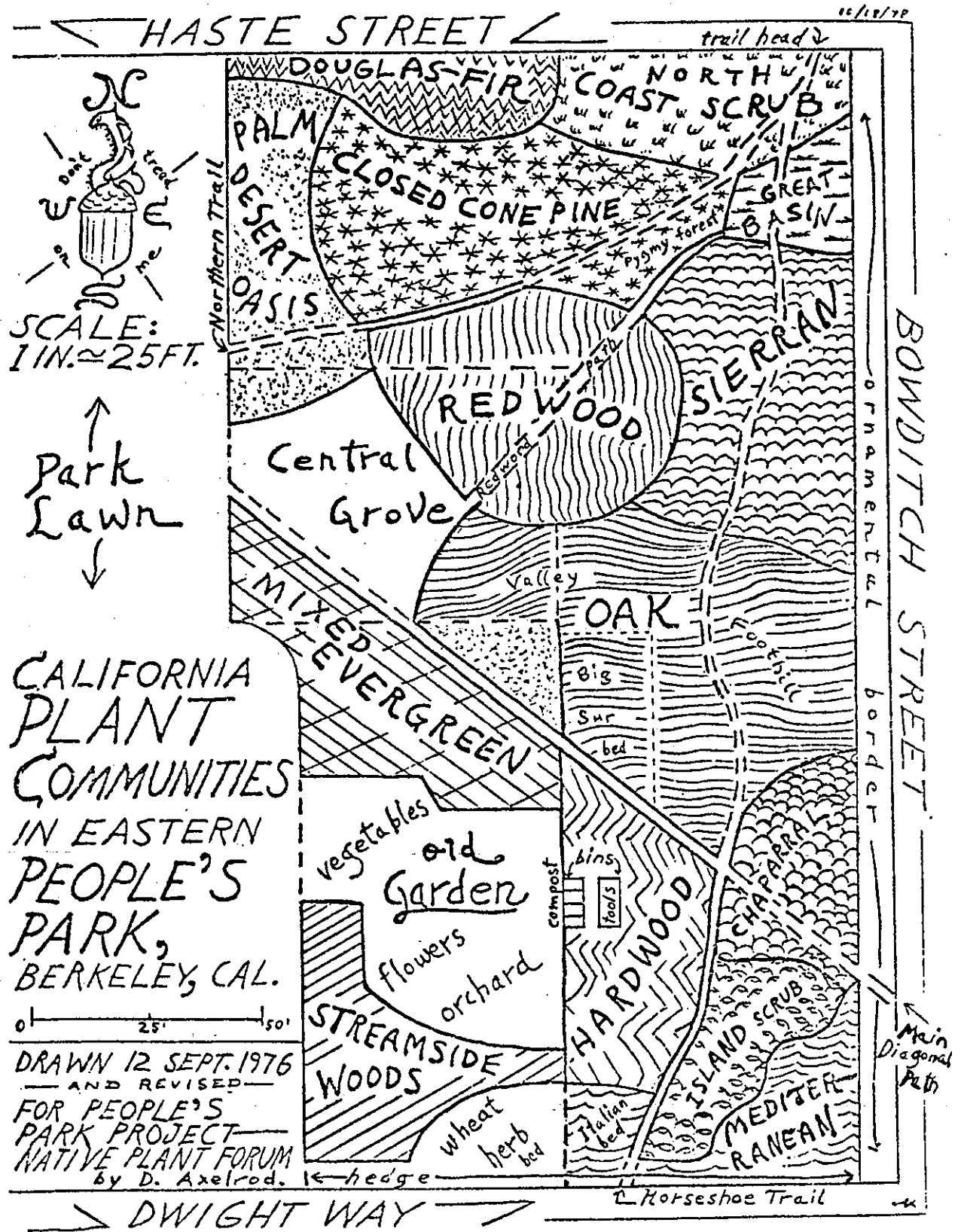
Native Trees of People's Park, 1982

WEST END (continued)

Red Willow
Coast Live Oak
California Buckeye
Hollyleaf Cherry
Coast Redwood
Arizona Cypress

Salix laevis
Quercus agrifolia
Aesculus californica
Prunus illicifolia
Sequoia sempervirens
Cupressus arizonica





PEOPLE'S PARK PROJECT
NATIVE PLANT FORUM
P. O. Box 463, Berkeley, 94701

Compiled by
David Axelrod
5 May, 1982

"Clustered around what is known as 'People's Park,' is the richest concentration in Berkeley of the work of prominent architects and a variety of architectural styles spanning some fifty years."

--Anthony Bruce, Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association

-
1. FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST.....2619 Dwight
(Bernard Maybeck, 1909)
this is the only structure in Berkeley
on the National Historic Register
 2. WOOLEY HOUSE.....2509 Haste
(1876)
the first home in the South Campus area;
it is State Registered
 3. ANNA HEAD SCHOOL.....Haste at Bowditch
(Soule Fisher, 1895)
State Registered
 4. AMERICAN BAPTIST SEMINARY.....2600 Dwight
(Julia Morgan, 1918)
State Registered
 5. Hobart Hall - see above
 6. STUART HOUSE.....2524 Dwight
(Albert Pissis, 1891)
State Registered
 7. VEDANTA SOCIETY.....2455 Bowditch
(Henry Gutterson, 1922)
State Registered
 8. SMITH COTTAGE.....2529 Hillegass
(Henry Gutterson, 1923)
State Registered

(LCPD 83:1)

compiled by Dorothy Legarreta, 1983
courtesy of the Land Conservancy for People's Park

H I S T O R Y

30. The chief historical significance of People's Park is that it was one of the first and most famous examples of a parcel of derelict waste land spontaneously transformed into an innovative do-it-yourself park completely by community volunteers. That process of user development was not abandoned when the Park was demolished in May 1969 by order of the University of California at Berkeley under intense pressure by then-Governor Ronald Reagan. Other spontaneous people's parks and mini-parks sprang up around Berkeley and other areas. People's Park Annex at Hearst and Grant Streets was the forerunner and core of what was expanded to be Ohlone Park on the BART Strip. Gardens were re-initiated in the original People's Park as early as 1972. The present California native Botanic Oasis on the east end of the Park was begun in 1974 by student and community volunteers. Gardens were extended to the west end of the Park beginning in fall 1979, following the momentous Fee Lot controversy and ensuing month-long encampment on the site by pro-Park demonstrators.

There are many "firsts" about People's Park. Berkeley had been known as being in the forefront of the progressive political movement throughout the Sixties and before. The People's Park battle was one of the first attempts to take the anti-war struggle from opposition and resistance to the realm of creating constructive alternatives to the problems of society. In so doing, the People's Park movement marked a transition from anti-war to environmental concerns. It is an oft-repeated sentiment at public forums to this day that the Park should be preserved and renewed as a Monument to Peace, in memory of the sacrifices made by those wounded, jailed and killed (James Rector) in 1969, and as a model of community-controlled open space.

#30

15th Anniversary Of People's Park

by **STEPHANIE
MANNING**
Berkeley
Historical Society

Perhaps the most significant event in Berkeley's history, but also the least explored to date by local history scholars, is the brief war that took place 15 years ago over the issue of People's Park.

This week marks the 15th anniversary of People's Park and, in particular, "Bloody Thursday", during which one man was killed, another blinded, and over 75 people were injured.

Looking back at the People's Park issue and events around "Bloody Thursday", one finds that innumerable articles appeared on the subject at the time. The *Readers Guide To Periodical Literature* lists 15 articles written between March 1969 and February 1970 on Peoples Park in nationwide magazines alone, such as *Newsweek*, *Time*, *Ramparts*, *America*, *US News & World Report*, *National Review*, *Nation* and *Commonweal*. The *New York Times* also covered the issue thoroughly on a daily basis. Depending on what you read, you would receive that publication's bias - pro-activist or pro-establishment.

Perhaps the best account is an article by Robert Scheer in the August 1969 issue of *Ramparts*. In it he describes all of the circumstances leading up to Bloody Thursday, including a photo analysis of the shootings and a personal account of getting arrested and being brutally treated by red-neck guards at Santa Rita prison.

In one sense, People's Park was just more of the same type of activity that characterized Berkeley throughout the Sixties, full of youthful idealism, activist, against the Vietnam War, willing to challenge the old academic ways, willing to stand up for what it

believed in, and willing to defy convention. In another sense, the crisis grew out of a dynamic which operates to this day and has to do with institutions making plans to develop land, involving the effected neighbors as little as possible, the neighbors and other concerned citizens organizing to block the plans and confrontations that naturally follow.

In 1957 the University of California announced plans to buy the land later to become People's Park through its power of eminent domain. Due to lack of funding virtually nothing happened for 11 years. Then in June 1968 tenants in the houses on the site were evicted and approximately 40 houses were demolished. The University however still did not have enough money to develop the site, although it had abandoned its plan for a student dormitory in favor of a new soccer field.

According to Robert Scheer, "for the next year, until the park was begun, the land remained vacant, an eyesore with remnants of concrete foundations, huge mudholes, garbage and broken glass." During this time "there were four separate proposals for a community park on the land." Each was ignored by the Chancellor, Roger Heyns.

According to Pat and Fred Cody in *Experiment And Change In Berkeley* published in 1978, "the builders of the park were not a group of ecological do-gooders intent on the beautification of the South Campus area. Although ecological and environmental issues were raised by park developers and supporters, fundamental to the struggle was the right of ownership and the notion of private property rights. The park builders challenged the property rights of the Regents by declaring that the Regents had abused

their rights and overstepped their authority by creating and maintaining a public nuisance."

Scheer was quick to point out however that those who built the park "did not fit Vice Chancellor Cheit's simplistic image of the hard-core South Campus revolutionary. Not one of the traditional political groups on campus - The Young Socialist Alliance, the Independent Socialist Club, the Progressive Labor Party - supported the park while it was being built." These groups joined the park movement later, after Bloody Thursday.

The originator of the idea for a park was Mike Delacour, a Telegraph Ave. merchant, who had attempted to schedule a concert there, realized the lot was too much of a mess, full of broken glass, mudholes and abandoned cars, and realized the need for a grassy park there. On April 13 he held the first meeting at his store. Those who came were "a carpenter named Curtis", Wendy Schlessinger, Stew Albert, Paul Glusman and John Algeo. Later they were joined by Jon Read, a landscape architect, Frank Bardacke, Super Joel, Big Bill Miller, Art Goldberg, and Mike Lyon. An article appeared in the *Berkeley Barb* encouraging the creation of a park. Several Avenue merchants donated money and by April 20 some semblance of a park was begun on the northeast corner of the lot. Sod was trucked in and plants were planted and that night a crowd gathered around a new fireplace listening and dancing to the music of a band called Joy of Cooking.

The park continued to be developed and according to Scheer "on weekends as many as 3,000 people a day would come to plant flowers, shrubs and trees. A vegetable garden was created. Swings, slides and other play equipment

some homemade - were installed." Many different types participated, not just hippies, and pro-park sympathy grew.

On April 30, Vice Chancellor Cheit met with park supporters and, according to *People's Park* (published in 1969 by Ballantine Books), "proposed that 'creative control' over one fourth of the land be given to the interested parties. He promised that no University construction would begin without advance warning." On May 6 a group consisting of Chancellor Heyns and representatives of the Peoples Park Committee, ASUC and the College of Environmental Design was given 3 weeks to come up with a plan for park construction. However, on May 13, only a week later, the Chancellor's office announced that it would put up a fence and re-take control of the park. Its reasons were that 1. no "responsible committee" had yet been formed that the university could deal with and 2. the people working on the park refused to stop (although in a later referendum on the issue, 85% voted in favor of developing the park).

On Thursday, May 15 at 4 a.m., the University began constructing an eight-foot chain link fence around the park. The operation was closely guarded by 250 Highway Patrol and Berkeley Police officers. Park supporters held a rally at noon in Sprout Plaza. Several speakers protested the University's action. Then, Dan Siegal, ASUC president, discussed alternative responses to the action and suggested returning to the park in protest. The Codys recalled that at one point Dan said, "Let's take back the park." The crowd of about 6,000 spontaneously began moving toward the park and met the police and CHP officers face to face.

A fire hydrant was opened and the spray directed at the police. Rocks were thrown and fighting ensued. Alameda County Sheriff's Deputies in their blue coveralls, the "Blue Meanies", fired birdshot and later buckshot into the crowd. (Eventually about 75 people were shot.) Tear gas was used indiscriminately. By the end of the day an out of town, James Rector, had been shot in the stomach with double-O buckshot and killed as he watched the street confrontation from a rooftop. Another onlooker, an artist, was shot in the face and blinded. Others were shot as they walked down the street in the course of their business. Richard Ehrenberger, an apartment house owner and currently a City Landmarks Preservation Commissioner, was shot in the leg with buckshot as he walked toward his car.

The next day, the national Guard moved into Berkeley. Gov. Reagan had declared the U.C. campus in a "state of extreme emergency" several months earlier enabling the use of state officers. Every day large groups of protesters marched in downtown Berkeley and many hundreds were arrested. Conditions at Santa Rita prison were nothing short of brutal, and according to both Robert Scheer and Joel Rubenzahl (in *Experiment & Change In Berkeley*), those arrested were treated cruelly. In one mass arrest 482 people were arrested in Downtown Berkeley. The Sheriff was quoted as saying that his young deputies "have the feeling that prisoners should be treated like Viet Cong."

The Faculty Senate voted that the fence should be removed and the police activities investigated. The Berkeley City Council also called for a Grand Jury investigation.

Meanwhile, the National Guard used a helicopter to drop more tear-gas, this

time a type used by the Army called CS, a dry form reported to be the Army's most powerful tear gas. According to *Time* (May 30, 1969 issue), "the ubiquitous dust terrified women and children picnicking nearby: youngsters in a playground half a mile away became hysterical... Berkeley began to look like an occupied city, with Army jeeps and trucks clogging the streets, helicopters patrolling the skies, and "Yanqui go home" scrawled on walls. Protest marches of up to 4,000, though illegal under emergency edict, became a daily occurrence." Eight professors went to Sacramento to ask Gov. Reagan to pull out the troops. He refused. A Memorial Day march saw 20,000 protesters march through Berkeley. This time there were no incidents of violence.

By July 1969, the Governor and Regents ordered the University to proceed

with the plan for a 270 unit student apartment complex, Reagan stating that if a park were made on any of the land, it would "appear as nothing but a cop-out."

In a retrospective article decrying the excessive use of force, Charles Horman wrote in the June 13, 1969 issue of *Commonweal*, "The university had to choose - property versus flesh. They choose wrong. Seventy people were shot and one man killed to keep them from picnicking on University land."

A comprehensive book on People's Park compiling all the data available as well as hundreds of photos taken, is yet to be published. Most of the information available consists of dramatic personal reminiscences around the Park idea, troubles with the UC administration and the arrests that followed, which, if collected in one place, would make for fascinating reading.

"Those little wars" as referred to by *Nation* magazine, including the Free Speech Movement

demonstrations earlier in the Sixties, are what eventually made Berkeley a household work throughout the country. They established a reputation for progressive activism that Berkeley holds to this day. But more than that, they affected the history of the world by affirming the people's right and ability to challenge established authority and to attempt to seize control of intolerable situations.

The Berkeley Historical Society's recent exhibit at the Berkeley Fair featured this aspect of Berkeley's contemporary history. The Society welcomes contributions of memoirs of this important era, photos and any other memorabilia for future display or reference. You may write or visit the office at 2318-D McKinley St., Berkeley 94703 or phone 540-0809 Monday through Friday from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.

not part of
actual
application

TELEGRAPH AVENUE

Regent

Hillegass

Benvenue

Dwight Way

Haste Street

PEOPLE'S
PARK

Bowditch

IDA SPROUT
HALL

WINTER
HALL

RESIDENCE
UNIT # 3

BORETTY
HALL

WINTER
HALL

2505

2521

2539

2535

2547

2553

2401

2405

2409

WINTER
HALL

WINTER
HALL

RESIDENCE
UNIT # 1

PUTNAM
HALL

PUTNAM
HALL

UNDERWELL FIELD
PARKING STRUCTURE
D 4

WINTER
HALL

RESIDENCE
UNIT # 2

WINTER
HALL

DAVIDSON
HALL

'Manifest Destiny'

University Investigates Eviction of Students

By DAVE GRABER
Staff Writer

At a time when budget slashes may mean curtailment of enrollment or a drop in the quality of education at Berkeley, the University is in the process of transforming one south campus residential block into a "recreation area" at a cost of \$1.3 million.

Fighting a losing battle against what one student called "the University's severe case of manifest destiny," are landlords and student tenants of the area bordered by Haste Street, Dwight Way, Bowditch Street, and the Telegraph Avenue commercial strip.

The University Master Plan has scheduled new residence halls, playing fields and parking lots for the eventual development of the Dwight-Haste block, as well as all land from Channing to Dwight, and from Bowditch to Dana, according to John Schappell of the University-wide Real Estate Office.

The commercial strip along Telegraph will remain untouched.

Razing Buildings

The University has already razed some buildings, purchased most of the remaining land, and holds papers of eminent domain over the few stubborn owners of property who remain.

To make way for what Schappell has admitted will be nothing more than a recreation area for at least the next year, students' families living on the block been or will be evicted by June.

For students, this amounts not only to a disruption of their studies but to a major inconvenience — and, for some, an economic crisis.

'Dishonest Dealings'

Several residents have gone further to charge that the University has resorted to dishonest dealings and downright coercion to get them to sell their homes. Others, who refused to give their names for fear of reprisals, charged that the University is involved in political maneuverings as well.

One landlady, who requested that her name be withheld, said, "Mr. Schappell told me that the University was razing the block to get rid of the hippies. But I don't believe there are any hippies here."

Barbara and Richard Aaronberger, whose family has lived in the house they own on Haste Street for a number of years, reaffirmed that the University's representatives had used the hippy argument on them as well.

'No Hippies'

"Be that as it may," said Mrs. Aaronberger, "this block had no hippies on it until the University announced last year that they were going to be tearing it down. After that, it became much harder to find tenants."

She commented that "the University has been behaving surprisingly gross in this whole matter... even Mr. Schappell admitted that this [the action] was impetuous and inopportune."

The Aaronbergers have not sold their home as yet although the University has told them it holds orders of eminent domain which will be used if they do not quickly sell.

Offered Price

On the matter of the price that the University offered to pay for their home, architect Aaronberger

ferred 25 per cent off market value... probably even less than that."

Another landlady, who wished to remain unidentified, said, "Mr. Schappell has offered me only half of market value for my place. Where am I going to find another with what I get?"

The Herrenbrucks family, including five children, recently purchased a business with their savings, and now find they must look for a house as well. "We have been offered nowhere near what we will need to find another house," Mrs. Herrenbruck noted.

Another important question raised by many residents concerns a ten-unit modern apartment building on Dwight Way, formerly owned by Cyril Stevenson, a Berkeley realtor. The University announced almost ten years ago that it would develop the block in question.

Old Price

Several residents mentioned that Stevenson had offered his property, at that time undeveloped, to the University for \$45,000 five years ago. Some residents said the University did not wait until two years ago to

purchase the lot, now with the new building on it, for \$125,000.

Richard Hartsook, who heads the University-wide Real Estate Office and has been in charge of the Haste-Dwight development, denied that Stevenson had even owned the property. He added that the University had never been offered the piece for less than the \$125,000 finally agreed upon.

However, Cyril Stevenson, contacted at his home, said he did indeed offer the undeveloped piece of land to the University "several years ago for \$45,000."

Asked what the real estate office's response had been, he said, "They turned me down."

Stevenson, who owns Sather Gate Realty, affirmed that he had sold the property, now with a modern apartment building, to the University for \$125,000 two years ago.

Land Developed

Since the land upon which the apartment stands will be developed for the recreation area, the building will have to be moved or razed.

This switch of land from apartments to dormitories has raised

the ire of students and families along the block.

Michael Lerner, graduate in philosophy, pointed out that aside from eliminating low cost student housing within easy walking distance of the campus, the University's move will eliminate taxable land from the city's revenues and force a raise in taxes for everyone else.

"This is just the most obvious and obnoxious example of what the University does in total disregard for the welfare of its students. Why do the dormitories hold students to a one year contract if so many are trying to get in? And why does the University queried Lerner.

"Another question," continued Lerner, "is why isn't the University buying up places like this and providing cheap places for students to live instead of spending a great deal of money to build dormitories in which nobody wants to live?"

"Students flee the dormitory for this kind of housing. This will be an excuse for the remaining landlords to raise the rent again he continued.

Another question Lerner raised which was repeated up and down the block, was why the University is tearing down some apartments on the block when others will be permitted to stay till June.

He explained, "That lot next to me used to house 10 to 15 students. What can the University possibly want with it in the next few months that's so pressing Aaronberger commented that he thought the University's hand-miss operation was a skillful bit of psychology to get the holdouts frightened so they would sell.

"If I hold out on them," he said, "they'll start tearing down the buildings on either side of me nice and slow. Maybe they think those empty lots or all the noise will scare me away."

August 1969

A Short Play on Sex by Jules Peltier

BINDERY

75¢

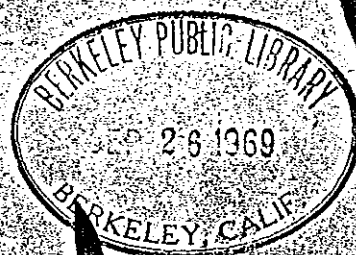
Ramparts

**FROM POST-WAR
BERKELEY:**

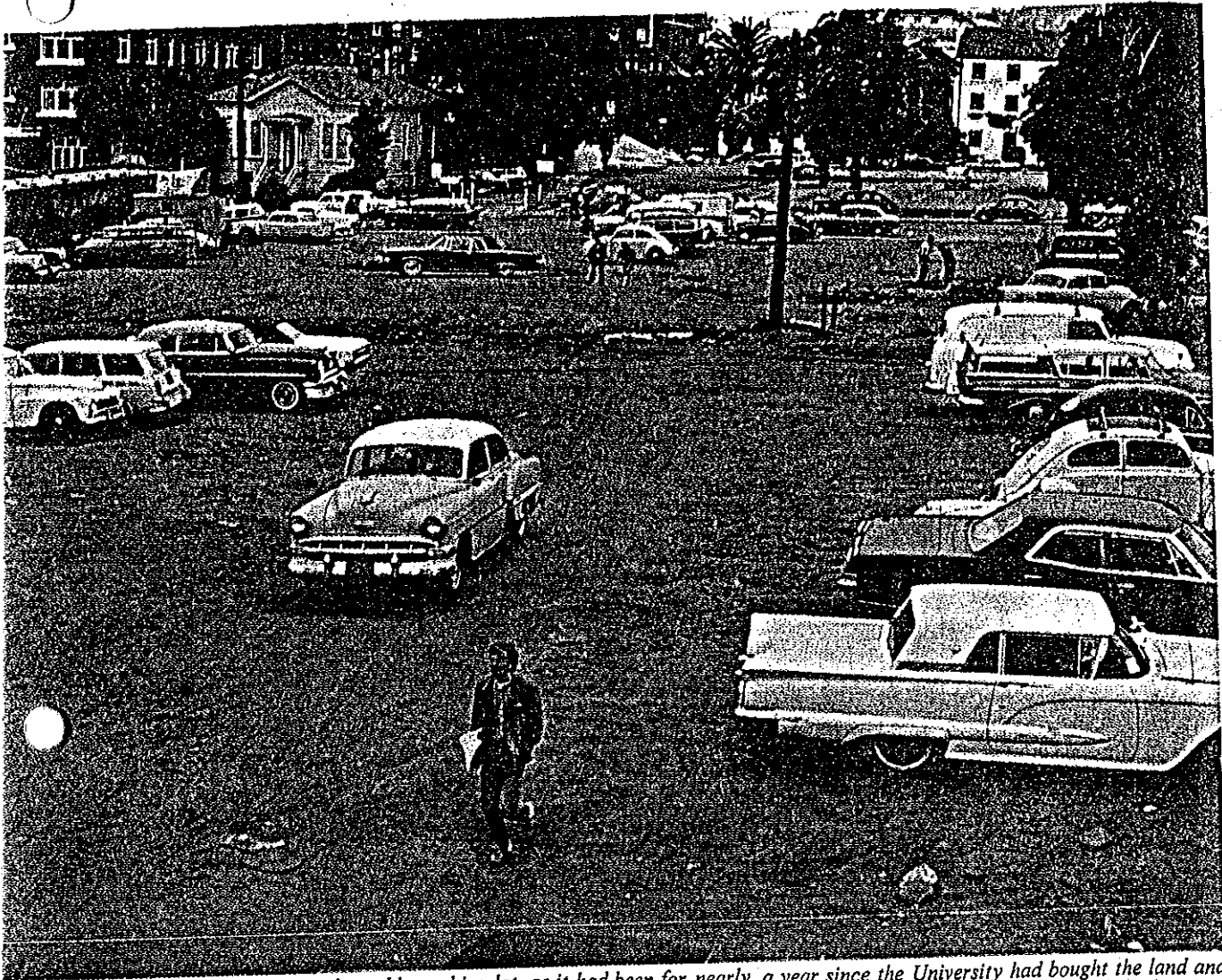
1) The Creation
and Destruction
of People's Park
in Pictures.

2) An Analysis
of Who Created
and Who Destroyed

3) The Facts
on the Sheriff's
Death Squad;
how James Rector
was killed.



The People's Park: A



The site for the park was a rutted, muddy parking lot, as it had been for nearly a year since the University had bought the land and leveled the housing.

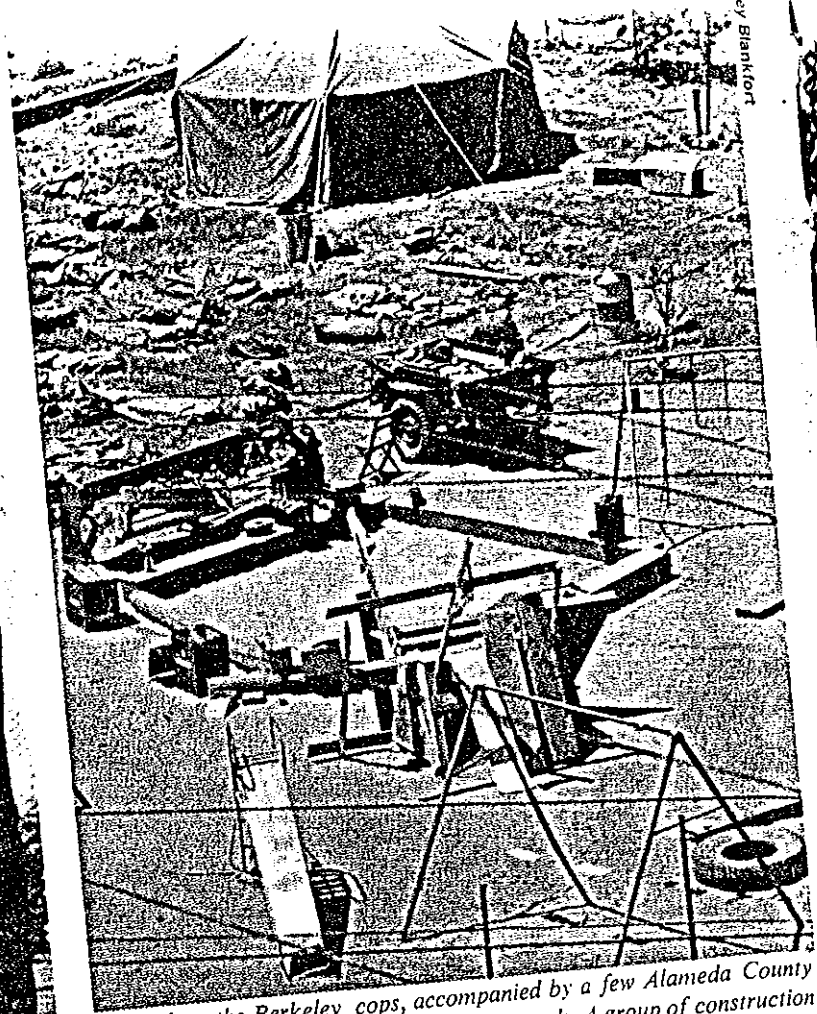


On Sunday, April 20, the first group of volunteers—students, children, "street people" and neighbors—began tilling the land, rolling out the sod and building a fire pit. (During a discussion on the naming of the park, the title Eldridge Cleaver Memorial Park was suggested but quickly dropped when someone reminded the group that Eldridge was alive and was, in fact, going to return.)

OPPOSITE: Rest for a couple in the park as the work goes on in the background.



Janick

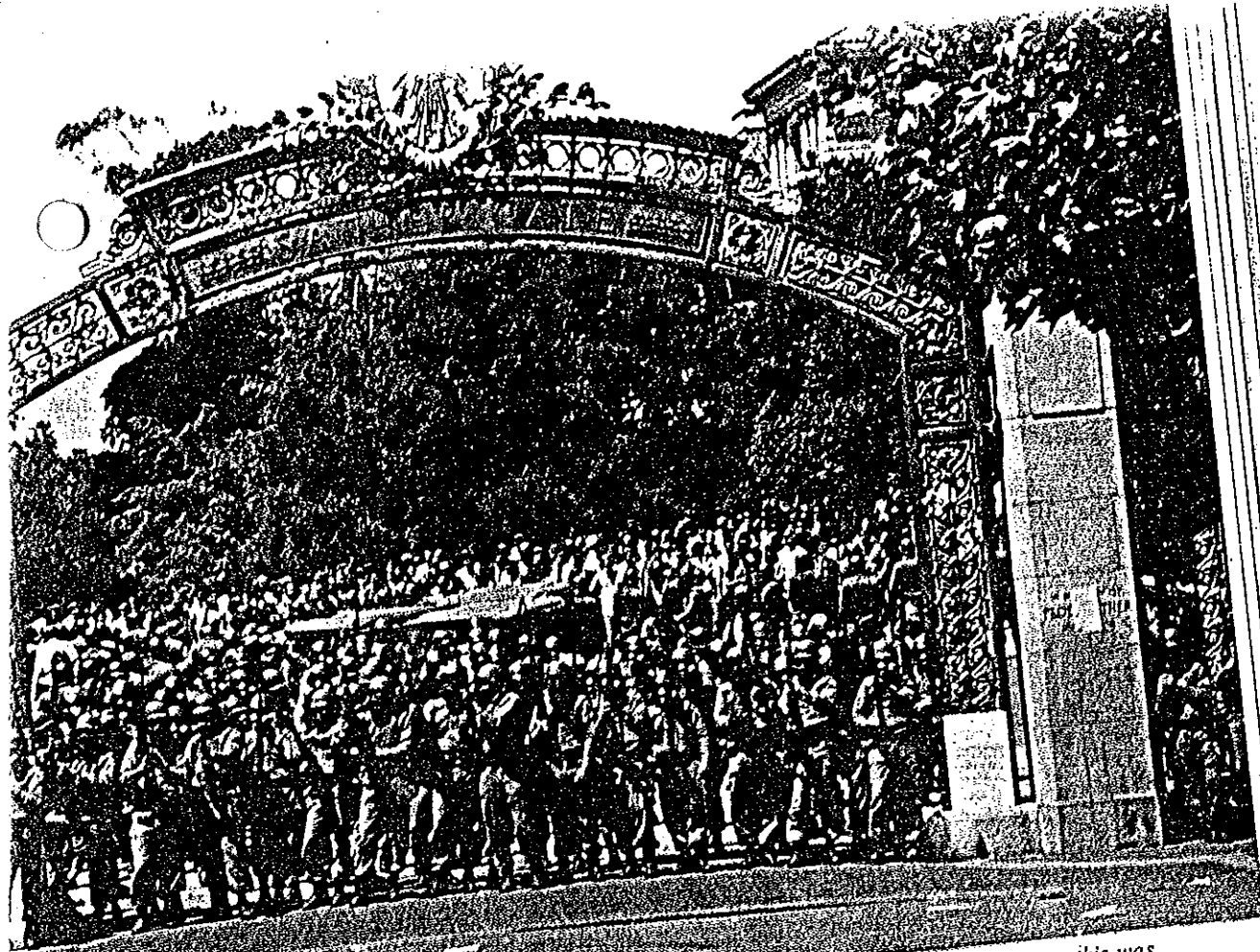


Blankfort

on Thursday, May 15, acting on Chancellor Heyns' orders, the Berkeley cops, accompanied by a few Alameda County deputies, swept the area clear of the all-night vigilers, arresting three who refused to leave their park. A group of construction quipped with gas masks (upper left), then proceeded to put up an eight-foot fence completely surrounding the park. The right shows how the People's Park was transformed by the National Guard into an armed camp by the next day.



Vice
being
"Clu.
Coun
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for Earl Cheit to the Board of Regents: "... clearly the nature of our response was very important because this was
ed in a way to have the big clumsy university respond in some stupid way to the gentle act of creating a place of beauty."
is hardly the word. Between 2700 and 3000 National Guardsmen virtually occupied the city (upper right), Alameda
ffs seemed to be firing at anything that moved (lower left), and a helicopter indiscriminately gassed thousands of citizens
mately a mile-square area, including many grade school children and hospital patients (lower right).

Blotnick



DIALECTICS OF CONFRONTATION:

Who ripped off the Park

[INTRODUCTION]

THE PIGS ARE RIPPING OFF the People's Park." With this frantic message, thousands of Berkeley students, street people, radicals, Free Church Christians, conservationists, student government leaders, and even pom-pom girls and fraternity men were alerted to the fact that the plot of ground they had come to accept as their own was in danger. One of those sounding the alarm was "Big Bill" Miller. He had been sleeping guard in the park along with about a hundred others, when the combined forces of the Berkeley police, the California Highway Patrol, and the Alameda County Sheriff's Department invaded the area and sealed off traffic for an eight-block square; while a fence was quickly thrown up. Miller rushed down to the Red Square dress shop (about 20 feet from the southwest tip of the park) to warn Mike Delacour, the man who had come up with the

idea of a People's Park and supervised its early development. Delacour tried calling Reverend York of the Free Church; he was going to hold a sunrise service in the park at 5 a.m. Others activated the "telephone tree," an early warning system of chain phone calls set up in anticipation of a move by the authorities. Within the hour, the streets in the area began to come alive with people bitter and frustrated over this swift display of establishment power.

Nine hours later, more than 100 demonstrators had been injured, 13 of them requiring hospitalization due to shotgun wounds. One was dying from 1/3-inch buckshot which had ripped open his belly, and another was blind from being blasted in the face with birdshot. Tear gas hung heavy over much of the city, and people milled about in bewilderment over the incredible and unprecedented overkill used to punish those who had attempted to plant a park on one square block of land owned by the University of California.

THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAD PASSED by People's Park that morning, apparently needing to bear personal witness to the process of destruction. They had watched as iron fence poles were set three feet deep in concrete and bulldozers ripped up the shrubbery which they had so carefully planted. They watched the heavy equipment rolling over the newly-planted sod and the police cynically, cavorting on the slides and swings in the park, which was now off-limits to ordinary citizens. But there were no incidents of confrontation during the morning hours of the day which became known as "Bloody Thursday."

The crowd at the traditional Berkeley campus noon rally in Sproul plaza, the largest of the year, had gathered to do something about the fence. At one point in the rally, student body president-elect Dan Siegel, a second-year law student, said, "... Let's go down there and take the park." Without waiting for any qualifications he might make, the crowd, to the amazement of the political activists still waiting to speak, roared its approval and spontaneously began to move down Telegraph Avenue toward the park three blocks away. It could have been another line from another speaker that launched them, or it could have been no line at all. It didn't matter. They were getting ready to go anyway; they could not just accept the fence.

At first everything seemed to be following a familiar Berkeley pattern—a chanting crowd moving down Telegraph, once again breaking the front window of the Bank of America building. They encountered the police lines that had been thrown up across Haste and Dwight streets to block access to the park, and in a matter of minutes tear gas canisters and rocks had crossed paths and someone had opened a water hydrant to spray cops standing across the street. Then the police charged, clubs swinging, and a Berkeley police car

shot down the Avenue, zigzagging from one side of the street to the other, shooting tear gas out the windows. RAMPARTS reporter Art Goldberg recalls, "A number of us walked down Ellsworth and turned up Durant to get back to the campus. A girl ran towards us, yelling hysterically, 'They're shooting people. Three people have been shot.' We told her to cool it, that tear gas canisters were the only things getting shot off."

Reports of other shootings began to circulate, and for the next few hours there was horrified disbelief. When hospital reports began to confirm serious shotgun injuries to demonstrators and bystanders alike, the police released accounts implying that the shootings had occurred in the heat of the battle and as the result of frantic self-defense rather than a deliberate police riot. But as a result of careful research by trained investigators, RAMPARTS is now able to document (in the insert beginning on page 54) the identity and movements of a "death squad" of Alameda County Deputy Sheriffs, which, as it moved in a circular path through the area of protest, used its shotguns to cause almost all the serious injuries as well as the one death. At no point that day or in the next week of demonstrations was there a single reported instance of an officer being fired upon, nor did a single officer sustain a serious injury. In fact, only 18 policemen required any hospital treatment—all for superficial cuts, mostly from flying glass—and none had an injury serious enough to require hospitalization. Commenting on the scores of civilians who were brought in for treatment, Dr. Henry Brean, Chief Radiologist at Berkeley's Herrick Hospital, said: "The indiscriminate use of shotguns is sheer insanity." He listed a partial toll of the casualties: One death, three punctured lungs, two eyes blinded and a third damaged, a shatter-fracture of the lower leg and a rupture complicated by a massive internal infection.

Alan Blanchard, father of a three-month-old child, was by all

by Robert Scheer

accounts an observer on a roof when he was blinded by James Rector, who later died from being shot with .300 buckshot (used to kill deer, each charge containing 9 or 12 of the 1/3-inch pellets), was also looking on. The man who treated Rector at Herrick later gave this account to the San Francisco Examiner: "This young boy had picked up machine gun slugs—the sort of thing you'd expect from a machine gun. But it wasn't. It was buckshot from 30 feet. His belly just ripped apart." One victim arrived at the hospital with pellets of birdshot in his body. Two newsmen, Don Larsen of the San Francisco Chronicle and Daryl Lemcke of the Los Angeles Times, were also hit by shotgun blasts. Berkeley's nightmare wasn't big national news at first. As a New York editor said, no one outside the Bay Area could have guessed that a civil war had broken out over grass being mowed in a homemade park. Only when Governor Reagan ordered 2000 National Guardsmen in the area the next day did the national press alerted to some of the bizarre developments that would follow—the tear gas air strike against demonstrators on the campus by a National Guard helicopter, the fact that over 1000 people were to be arrested in Berkeley that week, including 200 booked on felony charges. The blowup at Berkeley ultimately got coverage, but there has still been little recognition that what happened is more than a particularly bad riot in a college town. Few have seen the little over People's Park for what it really is: a preview of the confrontations of the '70s.

The crisis in Berkeley was not simply the result of right-wing reaction or backlash; rather, it represented a fundamental division between a generation which was the product of ten years of Berkeley revolts and was now coming into its own, and the "enlightened" authorities of the University of California, who had spent the past 20 years attempting to prevent such a generation from developing, and had ended up provoking it instead.

The park confrontation was a battle in a war between the mainstream of society, as represented by the University of California's administration, and the counter-community of revolt which thrives in the South Campus-Telegraph Avenue area, with the People's Park site at its heart. The Berkeley crisis was never over whether the University would be able to stop one "people's park," but rather over whether it would succeed in what had been a long-term strategy of eliminating the culture of protest by denying it its turf.

[II.]

THE U.C. REGENTS DECIDED to take over the heart of Berkeley's South Campus area as early as 1952, when they originally produced the current Long Range Development Plan for the University. Their thinking at the time appeared more bureaucratic than political. It was simply easier and cheaper to move into the South Campus area, "blighted" as it was by a jumble of bookstores, coffee shops and older houses used by students and others who were not at that time likely to mobilize significant opposition.

But the bureaucratic motive was based on assumptions about the purpose of the University and the role of its students. South Campus expansion was based on the presumed need to sanitize and control the University environment. The University community which the Development Plan envisioned was one of a total environment in which every need—classrooms,

housing, office space, recreation and parking—was programmed for ten years into the future. Students would literally be forced to dwell within an ivory tower of concrete and glass dormitories which—along with other official buildings, churches and a few spanking new store fronts properly up to code—would be the only structures permitted in the central South Campus area. All others would be pushed out by the University Regents exercising their power of eminent domain. This would, as the Development Plan (1956 revision) noted, provide "a well-rounded life for students. . . ." If the Multi-versity was to be a knowledge factory, South Campus Berkeley would be a company town.

At the time of its conception, it looked as if there could be no possible opposition to the Development Plan. Those were the "silent '50s" and "Cal" was as caught up in McCarthyite hysteria as the rest of the country. But disaffection simmered, and it began to move into the open in 1957, when Telegraph Avenue came to rival San Francisco's North Beach as the vital center of the Beat Generation, with Allen Ginsberg and Gregory Corso denouncing the sterile social order and calling for liberation from their forum at Robbie's Chinese-American restaurant on Telegraph. Slowly this mood began to slip into the campus itself, and in 1958 a group of about 100 students organized a political party which would be a *bête noire* for California citizens over the next few years. This party, called SLATE, organized a left-liberal coalition and uncovered a broad base of student concerns. Before being banned from campus, it managed to win two student senate seats and eventually the student body presidency on a campus thought safely de-politicized.

THERE IS, AS ON MOST QUESTIONS of theory, little agreement among New Leftists as to where and when the Movement began; but certainly one can make a strong case for the Berkeley of ten years ago. In 1959, there were large protests against the execution of Caryl Chessman. In 1960, several thousand students, mostly from Berkeley, stormed a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee being held in the San Francisco City Hall. Soon there were massive protests over U.S. policy toward Cuba, sit-ins at San Francisco hotels to protest discriminatory hiring practices and demonstrations at the 1964 Republican Convention at San Francisco's Cow Palace. Local reactionaries like Oakland Tribune publisher William Knowland had already learned to hate and mistrust students, and in the fall of 1964, when the administration tried to accommodate them by putting the lid on, the FSM erupted, setting a model for the next few years of campus protest.

The non-student community—including both cultural and political dropouts—grew rapidly. Each successive student generation seemed more hell-bent than the last on breaking new ideological or tactical ground. After the FSM it was the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), which departed from the liberals of the Peace Movement by insisting that imperialism, not foreign policy blunders, was the cause of the war. But the VDC was forced to fight the university issue as well: criticized for using the campus as a "staging ground" for its actions, the VDC replied that the University was itself a staging ground for weapons research and defense contracts; that it had in fact perfected a technique for giving priority to non-students like Dow Chemical and the Defense Department.

It was a wild ten years for Berkeley; attention was focused on the campus and the town became a laboratory for radical tactics. For the authorities of California—be they sophisticated college administrators like Clark Kerr, baffled liberals like Pat Brown, or fast-rising reactionaries like Reagan—Berkeley, or at least the part of it south of the University, came to be seen as a watering hole gone bad. The young herd was not fattening properly. Perfectly decent young men and women attending what was supposedly the star attraction of the whole state university network were turning out to be politically and socially deformed, causing trouble for parents and politicians alike. And it all seemed to have something to do with a place called Telegraph Avenue where “they” practiced fornication, smoked marijuana, wrote leaflets, mobilized protests and read sinister revolutionary tracts. Locally, the theme was hammered home by the Berkeley Gazette, the city’s conservative daily paper, which warned its readers that Telegraph Avenue was becoming a cesspool of sex, drugs, crime and revolution.

Meanwhile, the South Campus portion of the Long Range Development Plan had bogged down from lack of funds. A new impetus was needed, and in the early '60s, the City of Berkeley began an attack on Berkeley’s left-bank community under the guise of “urban renewal.” The first step was to carry out a study which concluded that the neighborhood was “blighted,” and that: “The area is environmentally deficient . . . because of an obsolete and inefficient subdivision pattern.” All college towns have their cheaper, off-campus student housing areas, and Berkeley’s is far better than most; but the city chose the South Campus as its first renewal project simply because the University made it extremely convenient to do so. University expenditures in a renewal can be credited to the city in lieu of its share, so the program would be free.

When the public hearings required by federal law were held in the spring of 1966, opposition to renewal was so widespread that the Berkeley Gazette had to report ruefully: “The majority of the people in the area, merchants, landlords, residents, and student-tenants, do not now, and have not in the past, liked the plan.” The city was depriving itself of an important tax base in aiding University expansion. But a more frequent criticism was that of sociologists Carl Werthman and Jerry Mandel who argued before the City Council, “It’s really an attack on the people who live on that street. You should leave Telegraph Avenue absolutely alone.”

Those who supported renewal did so because, as the editor of the Berkeley Gazette put it: “They are aghast at the intrusions of the nationwide Beatnik element into their part of town, and the resulting image of Telegraph Avenue as ‘America’s Left Bank.’ In a word, most of them would agree with the adjective ‘blighted’ to describe the South Campus region.”

Some of the main arguments for South Campus renewal were supplied by the Berkeley Police Department. In January of 1966, just before the renewal hearings were held, the Department initiated intensive patrols of Telegraph Avenue, harassing its inhabitants and building a record of arrests to create a statistical crime wave in the area. One could witness a dozen people at a time being ticketed for jaywalking, a favorite charge; otherwise the cops seemed to be devoting most of their time to finding drug offenders. At the height of the renewal controversy Police Chief William Beall issued a sensational report on crime in the area based on the work of the intensive patrol units. Later he wrote in a letter to Captain

Houchins of the Alameda County Sheriff’s Department that the “patrol is proving its value. The crowds along Telegraph Avenue have lessened in numbers and the composition of the groups tends to be more of the clean-cut college age youngsters.” And in a speech on the urban renewal plan, he stated: “We are more than ever convinced that the neighborhood must be completely renewed if it is ever to become a crime-free area in which Berkeley can again take real pride.”

If the project had been pushed through quickly, it would have overwhelmed the opposition. But there were snags: the normal federal red tape; the University’s lack of funds; and a freeze on the federal funds while the courts tested the constitutionality of California’s Proposition 13, the anti-Fair Housing amendment. These delays allowed the opposition to dig in, inform itself and fight back before it was all a *fait accompli*. With an unusual alliance—Telegraph Avenue merchants, afraid their rents would soar; students who enjoyed the lovely, congested streets, the old brown-shingle houses and the other “blights”; older people living in lifetime homes; and all those other people who simply hated the plasticity of the modern multiple-unit cracker boxes—the South Campus urban renewal plan was defeated.

UNDETERRED BY THE FLOUNDERING of the Long Range Development Plan and the death of the city-sponsored urban renewal, Chancellor Roger Heyns and his assistant, Vice Chancellor Earl “Bud” Cheit, moved to proceed anyway with the core of the scheme. The immediate proposal gave priority to acquisition of lot 1875-2, the present site of People’s Park. The reason: a “desperate need” for an intramural sports area—in fact, a soccer field.

This was quite a comedown. The Development Plan had called for dormitories on the lot. But by 1966, a decade after the plan was announced, that would hardly have gone over. The Regents had made it very clear that there would be no funds for additional dormitories for at least ten years, because vacancy rates were already so high that rental income from existing dorms barely covered costs. Chancellor Heyns’ proposal for a soccer field was accepted by the University’s Building and Development Committee on June 1, 1967. Stephen P. Diliberto, a professor of mathematics and chairman of the committee, was asked by a RAMPARTS reporter if the proposal was part of an effort to eliminate the South Campus subculture. He replied, “I presume it’s true. You are killing two birds with one stone. But we are aiming at only one of them; the other is free. We are seeking more facilities and if you engage in urban renewal, that’s an added benefit.”

Later that month the proposal was presented to the Regents. Regent Fred Dutton, known nationally as the manager of Bobby Kennedy’s presidential campaign as well as Assistant Secretary of State in John Kennedy’s Administration, was present at that meeting. He is a man given by training to cautious statements, but he was quite emphatic in recalling to a RAMPARTS reporter that Heyns and Cheit had based their case for acquiring the South Campus property on the grounds that it was “. . . an act against the hippie culture.”

Dutton also stated that Heyns had brought the Berkeley city manager and police chief to testify “about the rising crime rate in the area and generally describing South Campus as the center of off-campus corruption,” adding: “It was

Extraordinary for them to have brought along the police chief and city manager to the meeting of the Regents. There seemed to be a great rush to get the Regents to approve the acquisition, which again was contrary to the normal procedure in which the Regents would move very slowly on this sort of question and spend many months considering all the implications." Dutton's account of the Regents' meeting accords with one offered by Professor Sim Van der Ryn, chairman of the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Housing and Environment. When interviewed by RAMPARTS, Van der Ryn stated: "I have it on pretty good authority that this was the pitch . . . Cheit's position before the Regents was: 'Let's clean up that area and get rid of the people living there who are a threat to the stability of the University.'"

As for the "desperate need" for another playing field, Professor Van der Ryn points out that the University wasn't even fully utilizing the space it already had: "Their existing fields have low utilization because they can't be used at night; there are no lights and some of them are flooded. . . . The recreation argument is a patently invented set of needs."

The speed with which the Regents acted on lot 1875-2 indicates their acceptance of the sense of crisis manufactured by Heyns and Cheit. The resolution they passed makes this quite clear: "The Regents have approved the use of \$1.3 million in U.C. funds to purchase three acres south of the Berkeley campus. The area has been the scene of hippie concentration and rising crime." U.C. bought up the land, lot by lot, by exercising eminent domain, although it did not have the money even to build the playing field on it. The Chancellor, still without funds for development, nonetheless ordered the houses demolished in June, 1968. For the next year, until the park was begun, the land remained vacant, an eyesore with remnants of concrete foundations, huge mud holes, garbage and broken glass. But the "blight" had been removed.

In the year before the May confrontation, there were four separate proposals for a community park on the land. The Chancellor's office ignored each one precisely because community use would have violated the very reason for the acquisition: to destroy rather than serve that community.

Professor Van der Ryn first got involved with lot 1875-2 after the University had bought the land and houses, but before they were torn down. "I argued that if [Cheit] couldn't be dissuaded from demolishing people's homes, why didn't he at least make some of the land available to people on the street to make a place of their own, and to take some of the pressure off a crowded and tense Telegraph Avenue. (This was before the '68 Telegraph riots.) Cheit just smiled cynically.

"They couldn't get money from the Regents for dormitories," says Van der Ryn, "because Berkeley had the lowest priority of all nine campuses for new housing. So the Chancellor's office finally got onto this recreational thing to justify their demolition (what else could they use to justify open space?)—and preferably the least intensive recreation possible, like soccer; who the hell plays soccer on Telegraph Avenue on \$1.3 million worth of land?"

Regent Dutton, in his statement after the crisis, made the same point: ". . . I believe the planting of the park by the students was a constructive act—because they did it with their own hands and at their own cost and their own initiative; and that should be encouraged because the park, in this particular older neighborhood several blocks from the campus, was a

useful and enjoyable human development; the property already belonged to the University, was not being used, and there was no plan for its early use—at least not until after the park had been built."

The decision concerning the People's Park was more a result of Heyns and Cheit's theories of counterinsurgency against student radicals than an objective need for playing fields. And the impetus for it came from the enlightened liberals of the University, not the reactionaries like Ronald Reagan. It is worth noting that Reagan, while he certainly played a key role in the military escalation in Berkeley, did not make the original decision about lot 1875-2. He did not assume office until January, 1967, and at the time of the vote on the land a substantial majority of the Regents were still appointees of Reagan's predecessor, liberal governor Pat Brown. Reagan did not win over these liberal Regents. Rather, it was Heyns and Cheit who had won over the hawks among the Regents. Instead of all-out war against the natives of Telegraph Avenue, matters would be handled more subtly—through social engineering. Vice Chancellor Cheit, the man generally credited with the concept, would get his chance to build a "strategic hamlet" of clean-cut soccer players—a positive deterrent to subversion—in the very heart of the enemy camp. And it marks the continuing arrogance of this particular type of establishment liberal that after all that had happened in Berkeley over the past ten years, he still thought he could pull it off unnoticed by those it affected. But instead of being a strategic hamlet for the University, the lot was soon to become a Rest and Recreation camp for the South Campus activists.

[III.]

THOSE WHO WERE TO BUILD the park did not fit Vice Chancellor Cheit's simplistic image of the hard-core South Campus revolutionary. In fact, the rhetorical gambit which would have the hard-line, disciplined political groups cleverly creating an issue through which they could manipulate others, is quite the opposite of what actually happened. Not one of the traditional political groups on campus—the Young Socialist Alliance, the Independent Socialist Club, the Progressive Labor Party—supported the park while it was being built. Only after the explosion of police violence on Bloody Thursday did they belatedly and ineffectually add their voices to the communal rage. Even local SDS (PLP-controlled) opposed the park at first.

Most of the initial inspiration for the park came from people who had become political through previous experiences with the system. But they represent that nonsectarian breed that has managed to get through Berkeley's ideological warfare with a sense of humor and spontaneity in tactics. They are the free spirits, the anarchists of temperament who are not only incapable of conspiring or even really planning as a group, but who also have a profound contempt for manipulation and a distrust of those who practice it.

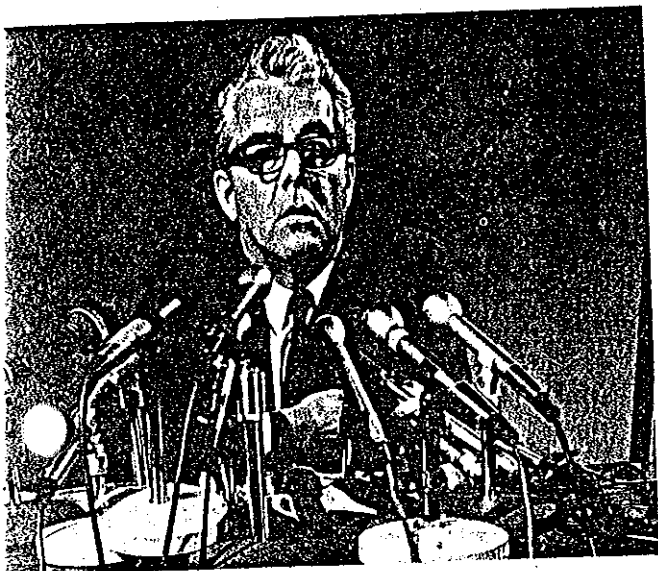
Are they "street people?" Not according to "Super Joel," age 20, who claims to have been arrested 64 times since coming to Berkeley five years ago to participate in the FSM. On the street since the age of 15, out of school and totally immersed in the hip and psychedelic world, Joel estimates that "there is a total of about 17 street people, and they all hang out in front of Pepe's [a pizza parlor on Telegraph]." But Ronald Reagan has managed to seize upon the phrase "the



Governor Reagan



Mike Delacour



Chancellor Roger Heyns



Charles Palmer



Wendy Schlessinger



Sheriff Frank I. Madigan



Frank Bardacke

street people" to freeze up the popular mind so that any further analysis of what really happened becomes impossible.

What is amazing is that a theory of a conspiracy by faceless party-liners could ever have been concocted out of the collection of vivid individuals who built the park. Besides the denizens of the Avenue like Super Joel, there was Frank Bardacke, an A-student throughout his undergraduate career, which began at Harvard where his activities included playing football and being thrown out for hooliganism. He later went on to three years of graduate work in political science at Berkeley before he was thrown out for helping to organize the 1967 Stop the Draft Week. There was Paul Glusman, the product of a left-liberal Los Angeles accountant's family, best known for his sense of the absurd (he founded the Concerned Stalinists for Peace on the campus); Big Bill Miller, who manages the Steppenwolf Bar and was a yippie-type candidate for Mayor of Berkeley; and John Algeo, the 19-year-old who organized people every week to go out to Vallejo to get grass sod. He is only a year younger than Wendy Schlessinger, who graduated from college at 19 and taught in the Long Island school system for six months before coming west with the intention of going to graduate school.

With its passion to pick out and print dossiers on the "leaders" of radical movements, the press generally singled out Bardacke and Glusman as the prime movers of People's Park, since they had been accused of "conspiracy" in previous affairs by the Alameda County Grand Jury. They were very important once the fence went up, but they are quick to admit that, as Glusman puts it, "Mike Delacour stood head and shoulders above everyone else in initiating the park. He had the balls to act as if it actually could be pulled off. He said, 'Let's build a park on Sunday,' and nobody believed him. But on Saturday he had a truck full of grass sod parked in front of the Med [the Mediterranean Caffe] and was scouring around Berkeley for the shovels."

DESPITE ALL THE ROMANTICISM about the working class prevalent among Berkeley politicians, the thirty-one-year-old Delacour may be the only genuine worker on the scene, although he hardly fits the stereotype with his shoulder-length black hair and colorful dress. As a kid, Mike was always in trouble with the local police and was put on probation for wrecking a car in which the police found a hundred cans of beer. He then "straightened out" by becoming a father and getting married. He got a job and finished high school at night. Then, turning 18, he hooked on with General Dynamics in San Diego as a mechanics helper. He spent the next eight years and three days working on the Atlas and Centura missiles, rising to the rank of Research and Mechanical Technician, installing missile complexes at Vandenberg Air Force Base and in Topeka, Kansas. "I was pulling down \$13,000 a year, but the life was an unbelievable drag."

Life with his wife and three kids centered around the tract town of Santee, California, just east of San Diego. Delacour recalls, "The desire to own land drives you crazy with all that advertising. We raised 700 bucks and bought a \$14,000 tract home. It was the American dream, living together but not knowing your neighbors. I only got to know a neighbor when our wives had a fight going over some dumb thing. It was worse than a ghetto—there was no community."

On the fourth day of his ninth year with General Dynamics,

Delacour split. He went to Europe for a year and bummed around on a Eurailpass. He heard about Berkeley and came there from Europe. The burning issue when he arrived was Viet-Nam. Radical protest emanated from a two-story frame house, headquarters of the VDC on Fulton Street, about three blocks from the site of the People's Park. Mike wandered by the house one day, saw a pretty girl in the window—and went in. He did a lot of what is often called "the shit work," carrying around microphones and worrying about mailing lists. He then moved into the less political "street scene," opening the Red Square dress shop off Telegraph Avenue, and hanging around the Mediterranean. He worked hard on the Peace and Freedom Party's registration drive. But Delacour was disillusioned by the in-fighting which followed. "We suddenly had gained some sort of power," he said, "but then we started dividing the spoils—forming organizations and bureaucracies—and everyone became ego-involved in endless hassles."

With his yearning for community and his political and street experience, Delacour was the logical person to initiate the marriage which the park issue represented between the hippies and the radicals, for he personally embodied the two strains in almost equal proportion. The idea for the park grew out of Delacour's plan to hold a rock concert on the vacant lot in back of the Mediterranean. "I contacted this band called the Joy of Cooking to see if they'd play and they said 'Yeah.' So we went up and looked at the lot. The property was a mess—lots of broken glass, mud holes and abandoned cars. It was too ugly, so we called off the concert. We needed a park there, but it's hard to get people together. Finally I called a meeting at Red Square that next Tuesday."

The meeting took place on April 13th and included a carpenter named Curtis, Wendy Schlessinger, Stew Albert (a writer for the Berkeley Barb who has moved over the years from Progressive Labor Party to the Yippies), Paul Glusman and John Algeo. This group soon attracted Jon Read (a professional landscape architect who had been involved in the VDC), Bardacke, Super Joel, Big Bill Miller, Art Goldberg (the former FSM leader, not the RAMPARTS editor) and Mike Lyon, a medical student.

The group collected money from some of the more hippie merchants on the Avenue. It was Wendy who contacted them, and she recalls that they were quite enthusiastic. That Saturday, Delacour rented a truck and bought \$300 worth of sod and plants.

The people who came to work were the type that resists "leaders" and much credit is given to Delacour for having developed a style of leadership that stressed example, rather than exhortation. He simply worked the hardest at different jobs. If the leadership had been more heavy-handed it would undoubtedly have failed. As it was, it served to pull people together and work became a joyous thing.

By nightfall a park had been created on the northeast corner of the lot and people were gathered around a new fireplace listening to the music of Joy of Cooking. Release came that night with a new style of dancing which was later a source of establishment criticism. As Wendy Schlessinger described it: "People whirled around barefoot, folk dancing together in a circle at a million miles an hour, going back to the jungle tribe. None of the psychedelic crap."

The first day had gone smoothly, but then both the planters

and the authorities began to consider the more radical implications. Delacour remembers, "The next day I was in the Morroneum and Bardacke came along with this big stack of books he'd just gotten from the University library. The books told all about how the land on which Berkeley was built had originally been ripped off from the Costanoan Indians. He brought out the whole user thing which the Indians had, how the land belongs to those who use it. And in this case we were the ones who were using it. He brought out the implications."

Bardacke's leaflet-manifesto, "Who Owns the Park?" was printed against a background picture of Geronimo and became the classic defense of building the park. After tracing the history of the land as it was taken from the Indians through the immense land grab of the Mexican-Indian War and the final seizure by the University's eminent domain, it concludes: "We will take care of it and guard it, in the spirit of the Costanoan Indians. When the University comes with its land title we will tell them: 'Your land title is covered with blood. We won't touch it. Your people ripped off the land from the Indians a long time ago. If you want it back now, you will have to fight for it again.'" Reagan later denounced the park as a "phony issue," an insidious and radical scheme to bring about confrontation. But as Frank Bardacke points out, "Radicals have a thousand schemes, but the park took off because it appealed to something very important in a lot of people. It was real to thousands of people—not just to radicals."

It was the incredible response of the community—from faculty wives, graduate students, teachers, carpenters, long-haired postmen and street people—which gave the park its significance. If the idea for the park had failed to elicit broad support from the community, it would have been brushed aside by the police at their convenience, but the almost instant support made it quite another thing.

The park was allowed to develop for almost a month—from the first People's Park Sunday, April 20th, until Bloody Thursday, May 15th. In that short time it bloomed and flourished. On weekends as many as 3000 people a day would come to plant flowers, shrubs and trees. A vegetable garden was created. Swings, slides and other play equipment—some homemade—were installed.

The park people worked out their own "procedures," although they may not have been bureaucratically proper. On one occasion, for instance, a group of people in the park decided to dig a swimming pool and set to work. Another group objected and for a time they worked right along, filling back in the dirt that was being dug out. Finally a discussion was held on the spot, ranging from affirmations of freedom of the will to sober considerations of filtration and drainage. Those assembled worked out a compromise position: a wading pool would be built.

The park managed to involve a tremendous diversity of straight, hippie and political elements, many of whom had previously lived together in the neighborhood on indifferent or even wary and hostile terms. Said Wendy Schlessinger, "When I saw a girl in a bikini and haircurlers lying there on the grass, sunning herself, I knew the park had made it." It caused many people to suddenly shift roles. Writer Sol Stern first followed events with the idea of doing a book but was actually drawn in to the point of being asked to join the negotiating committee and was later arrested for failure to disperse during one of the actions.

THE PARK BUILDERS were fully conscious of the prime importance of student support and worked carefully at including "straight" students in their community. In Delacour's words: "Instead of it being the radicals who are in control of the student movement, it's now everyone, pom-pom girls, fraternity guys, dormies, Charlie Palmer [student-body president], Oski Dolls. Art Goldberg [of the FSM] argued against my having bought \$300 worth of wine for one of the parties, but I did it for the non-pot smokers, who we wanted to include." One kilo was also purchased for the occasion to balance things out, the press reported.

The University desperately tried to lure the good kids away from the radical pied pipers who were leading them astray, but after the fence went up, a group of 84 student leaders signed a letter to the Daily Californian which called for "the spontaneous and continued development of that park area. . . . Control of the park should lie . . . primarily with those students and members of the community by whom the park was initially developed and creatively designed and whom the land is supposedly to benefit." It was signed by the students the U.C. administration has usually called on for support against the radicals: the editor of the yearbook, the president of the Interfraternity Council, the president of the senior class, the chairman of Big Game Week, and the heads of the Pom-Pon Girls and the Oski Dolls. It so unnerved Heyns that he summoned the group to his office shortly after the newspaper appeared. Despite a 45-minute lecture, the group held firm. A few days later, the largest turnout in the history of University elections voted overwhelmingly for the park. Of the more than 15,000 who cast ballots, over 85 per cent voted in favor of the park as it had been before the fence. Jim Hawley (who organized the massive statewide student support for the park which drew 10,000 to a rally near the state capitol in Sacramento) observed that "most of these kids were the straight-looking ones who are supposed to be in the silent majority."

This pro-park sympathy among even the more serious and sedate members of the academic community suggests the difficulty which the administration has recently had in mustering support among any significant segment of the student body. In 1964, for instance, during the height of the Free Speech Movement, the student body president could be counted on by the Chancellor to front as an example of the "legitimate" student. But the pliable Charles Powell, class of '65 (he later wrote an article showing how the FSM students had forced him to "find Christ"), had given way to Charles Palmer, class of '69, an outspoken advocate of the park; and president-elect Dan Siegel is facing prosecution for "inciting" the park "riot."

Palmer is something of a liberal, pushed rather unwillingly into radicalism by the obstacles he has met in his diligent attempts at reform. "My attitudes haven't changed very much over time. They upped the ante, so we had to also." He was president for a hellish year—in the fall, the Cleaver course crisis, in the winter quarter, the Third World strike, and lately, the People's Park issue. In each case, he involved himself as an advocate trying to work with the students to achieve the goals of the struggle, and never acquiescing to the many tempting offers if he would "cooperate" with the administration. "Students are not stupid," he says. "They no longer can be fooled."

Continued on page 52

[A Night at Santa Rita]

"We have a bunch of young deputies back from Viet-Nam who tend to treat prisoners like Viet Cong."—ALAMEDA SHERIFF MADIGAN

THE NATIONAL GUARD HAD SIMPLY closed off a large area of downtown Berkeley, arresting shoppers and protesters alike. I had a valid press pass, given to me that day by the Berkeley police, but with my long hair and all, Sergeant #1 would not let me leave the ring. Angry, I sat down with those caught, chatting for hours, surrounded by bayonets. A cop pulled me out and said I was arrested. I showed him my press card. Terribly impressed, he used it to get my name and address and sent me on to fingerprinting and the sheriff's bus. Like the others, I expected to be bailed out after a few hours booking at Santa Rita (the county prison farm), and then be home for a late dinner. Like the others, I was to be in a state of literal terror for the next 16 hours.

The one-inch slit in the window of the Alameda County sheriff's bus didn't let us see much of Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, only a lot of wire and low white barracks—somebody jokingly referred to it as a cross between a concentration camp and a chicken farm. The bus stopped at the gates and two guards with shotguns jumped on. "All right, you creeps, move your asses out of here. The last guy out gets his head cracked open." People who live in college towns spend their lives seeing old gangster movies, and it was difficult at first to realize that that corn and violence had suddenly become the real world. We stumbled out of the bus and through a gauntlet of club-swinging deputy sheriffs. The guy in front faltered and they hit him on the head—it does sound like a "crack." He said something like "take it easy," and they moved in on him. The rest of us made it through the gate and were greeted by the sight of 200 arrestees lying prone on a concrete yard—heads turned sideways, hands straight back at their sides, legs pulled close together. Two hundred bodies perfectly tense and quiet, but the guards walking between the rows of bodies gave proof of life as they whacked and poked the men with their clubs. These guards were the same deputies who had done all the shooting in Berkeley the week before—the "blue meanies" (in America it's always comic book death: macabre, unreal and later funny). It was getting dark and cold; the countryside was moorish and vacant; we could hear no cars moving on Highway 50 below; and the place was flooded with guards—enough to turn any organized resistance into a bloodbath.

The concrete was gravelly and it dug into your cheek. The wind blew some of the smaller bits into your eyes, which had to be open to catch sight of the guard about to whack your limbs for having moved or shivered in the bitter cold. After 30 minutes you could turn your head to rest on the other cheek. We lay there from 6 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. The fellow who was beaten as we came off the bus was forced to take a different position—resting on his knees, arms hanging at his sides while three guards systematically beat him for several minutes—one guard for the stomach, one for the back, and one who specialized on the head. (When he got out later a doctor reported that he pissed blood and that his body was a mass of bruises.) The rest of us just lay there—no one said anything, no one protested. Perhaps some tried to, but the minute their hands moved they became the center of other

guards' attention. "If you don't like it, do something and we'll bust you on a felony for assaulting an officer—you'll never get out." That's the threat that finally keeps you in line.

While my body had suddenly become very important because it was vulnerable to pain, my mind floated elsewhere, giddy and irrelevant. All this time I thought of James Reston and Max Lerner and the other good, rational men. I began to compose an open letter to Reston. "Dear Scotty," it went, "This letter concerns your column holding the New Left responsible for the increase of violence in American society. You condemned the New Left for its distrust of the legal system. Remember? It's the column that had the cute line about the New Left kids being neo-Nazi crybabies who won't pay their dues. Well, before I get into those arguments, Scotty, why don't you try paying some dues? 'Lie down on this concrete floor, motherfucker, hands back, legs together,' as the guards here say. 'Come on, creep faggot, get your ass down there, cheek to the stone, keep your hands out—what are you doing, masturbating? Move your head and I crack it open . . . at Santa Rita we shoot to kill.' Sorry, Scotty, have to run now. There's this guard talking to me."

THE GUARD IS, LIKE MOST ALL the other guards, a stocky, nasty redneck (except that he's enamel white—not enough sun in Northern California). Like most of the younger ones, he was let out of the Marines six months early to enter this profession. He seems to have only two comments to make about life. One is, "We shoot to kill in Santa Rita," and the other is, "Creep, I split heads." He has been commenting on life for two hours, and now his club is two inches from my nose. Do I want to go wee-wee? It's a good thing, a favor, a release. My head won't be cracked, nor will I be shot—on the contrary, five of us are getting to go to the bathroom. One cannot simply walk in and piss in the latrine, for there seems to be an elaborate and well-established ritual which the fat, middle-aged latrine guard is bent on following. It requires that one first sit in line, three feet from the latrine, and observe a good two minutes of silent reflection. Then the fat guard has us all jump to and line up on three sides of the small box to piss on signal and, unavoidably, on each other.

At 8:34 p.m. we are given a minute's exercise running in place. Soon we are allowed to sit, hands clasped, no talking—nirvana. At 10 p.m. they run us, shivering, into a barracks—eight to a double bunk—and it is rumored that a doctor has blocked the guards' fervent and often expressed wish that we freeze to death out in the compound.

During all this, they are calling out names for booking. Booking is blessed, because until one is booked he cannot be bailed. I am not booked until early the next morning. We are kept in the barracks from 10 p.m. to 4:30 a.m. Three lawyers arrive and there are wild cheers from inmates. The guards snarl but hold their clubs. Kids are afraid to talk too freely to the lawyers with the guards watching.

One lawyer talks too much to an inmate and is himself made an inmate (charged with interfering . . . etc.). The other

[by Robert Scheer]

lawyers leave and the guards snap back to viciousness, making up for the 20 minutes they've lost. The guards don't want to see any closed eyes—no sleeping. If eyes close, you get a rap on your cunk or self. "Yes, sir," you say. If not, then outside to be beaten and lie face down in the cold. The ACLU green card had said, "You have the right to call counsel." Later another kid asks whether we will get to call a lawyer. "You say something, creep? Come here, creep." He too is hauled out and hit. Fuck the ACLU green card. Survive. You forget your rights and concentrate on the main problem, keeping your eyes open—10 p.m. to 4:30 a.m.—and pray for booking. Most are already called and we get desperate as our numbers decline. Finally our turn comes—five names called—up against the fence—nasty redheaded pig makes us trot, whacking the last guy.

The booking hut is all efficiency—lots of deputy sheriffs, five typewriters going, fingerprinting and searching. You start by sitting on the floor, once again hands clasped in front, eyes riveted ahead "or we'll rip them out and paste them up there." Scrape along on ass, still sitting, from stop to stop—first stop is for searching again. "Stand up, hands against wall, feet back. No, creep. Like this." One's head is then thumped hard against the wall, legs kicked back, pig hand searching entire body. The mind is by now too tired for outrage. Back down on the floor, we scrape along on our bottoms to the next station, then up again, heels together at attention, answering questions for the deputy who is typing: "Marital state?" "Married, sir." "Legally?" "Yes, sir." "Bullshit, don't lie to me or you're dead. Children?" "One, sir." "Legitimate?" "Yes, sir." "Yeah. Ever work?" "Sir." "You got a job, hippie?" "Yes, sir. Editor, sir." "Where?" "Ramparts magazine, sir."

All activity in the booking hut stops suddenly as the assembled deputies are duly informed that the editor of Ramparts magazine is indeed in their company. They all seem reasonably impressed and one jabs me quite hard in the back with his club. A deputy hustles me over to the sanctuary of his ink pad. It is important that my fingerprints "get to Washington quickly," he tells another pig. Then it's back on the floor, eyes straight ahead, to be given a bologna sandwich and a small container of milk—the first food or drink we've had in 15 hours. Because I am the editor of Ramparts I get to "clean every fuckin' piece of paper off the floor of the hut" before eating my bologna sandwich.

WITH BOOKING FINISHED, WE'RE OFF to compound C and sleep, only to be awakened 45 minutes later. It's breakfast time: line up at bunks, eyes ahead, "move your asses, creeps, run to the mess hall or heads get split." It's Wheat Chex and watery milk and keep elbows off the table for any elbows on the table get cracked. "Hey, you fuckin' hippie queer, don't you understand English, get up against the wall." Whack—the poor bastard didn't get to eat his Wheat Chex.

We then stand up and one of the medical volunteers from the Free Church, dressed in a white smock with a huge red cross on his chest, is thought by one of the guards to have smiled, ever so slightly. "Did you smile?" "No, sir." "Aren't you happy here?" The kid has by now had it—17 hours is too much. He refuses to answer and is thrown against the wall and beaten. The rest of us are by now on our knees, eyes ahead, crawling to the door. "Crawl motherfucker, crawl

creep. Keep that ugly fuckin' head of yours absolutely straight or it's split open." After breakfast we get to crawl through the mess hall door and then double-time back to compound C.

It's already daylight and AM radio is piped through the intercom, with the morning DJ bullshit and news particularly obscene in our situation: "... an orderly, peaceful arrest of 480 went off without a hitch with those arrested now in Santa Rita. The bail has been set at \$800 and the police are to be congratulated on their efficiency and the lack of unpleasant incidents in the arrest. Chancellor Heyns was pleased that violence had been avoided. ..." The medical kid is back in our compound. Soon the guards find another excuse to haul him outside and resume the beating.

There is one very scared kid in our compound—who actually was shopping in one of the downtown stores when the roundup began and didn't even know about the demonstration. He is the only one who cracks, silently hysterical and shaking whenever a guard comes near. I now tell him bail should come any minute. It doesn't for three more hours. Never allowed our phone call, we've worked out a system of getting word out by compiling a list of names and phone numbers on the outside. Whoever's bailed out should take the list, but the first guy is too scared of the guards' threats and eager to get out. He forgets the list, but the next kid insists on being able to take it and gets off with it.

I hear my name and am in a group of ten trotting through fences, with a Central European guard (I swear)—metal frame glasses and accent—barking at us that if he had his way he wouldn't let us go. When we come back after conviction we'll really get it. Then stop, hold attention for five minutes, then run. We see normal prisoners for the first time and they are bewildered by the charade. As we trot around, the guards shout, "Who do you love?" No answer. "Say the blue meanies!" No answer. "Halt. Let's get it straight creeps. If you want to get out, you'll answer. We can keep you here all week." Trot again. "Who do you love?" A couple reply, "The blue meanies." Most of us finally manage to draw the line and chant, "Fuck the blue meanies." The guards are pissed but realize that it's too close to the end to push it.

SUDDENLY I'M IN A CAR BACK TO BERKELEY and for about three hours I frantically try to raise bail money for others and tell people what has happened. Then the entire experience fades out. To begin with, nobody really believes you. Even hard-bitten Berkeley radicals still hold some illusions about American life, about legal limits and public opinion. I began to consider the possibility that this was all some paranoid fantasy. The terror had worked back there because we were cut off and they had total power to define reality. Once we were outside the guards no longer existed; they were nowhere to be seen in that Chinese restaurant or coffee shop where I was boring people with yesterday's war story.

Perhaps I wouldn't have written up the "incident," but it turned out that Tim Findlay, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, had also been arrested and his eyewitness report, printed in that paper the next day, made it somehow all right to remember.

It had been real—it was in the papers.

Palmer's successor, Dan Siegel, is a second-year law student who has been active for several years in draft opposition and counseling and in assisting the Delano grape pickers' strike. Although more radical than Palmer, Siegel is no more closely associated with radical campus groups.

The Palmers and Siegels are representative of the shifts in student orientation that make the University see the Berkeley street culture as such a threat and the park issue as so important. To the University, the non-student "street-people" represent a dangerous alternative to which the students gravitate, drawn out of their carefully constructed academic orbit.

But despite the University's attempts to make the non-student into an alien, threatening element, the sense of division has really disappeared. That is why the park was able to involve the broad range of student support that it had. The University feared the park not because it was monopolized by hard-core radical street people, but precisely because it brought together all kinds of people—related and united them. And the University was appalled by the non-students not because, as it is fond of charging, "all they want to do is to destroy." Such nihilism is hardly magnetic. The fear is that they will create, will establish a life-style that is more satisfying than the work-a-day straight life. The fear is that their life-style will succeed. That also was the threat of the park. It was there. It was real. Utopian aspirations can be wistfully dismissed, but the park was not pie-in-the-sky.

It was the very factors which made the park work for the people who used it (its lack of bureaucracy, non-alienated labor, and freedom to challenge the social and political taboos of the society free of harassment) that were the most threatening to the authorities. Power over the park—this, above all else, the Chancellor would not grant. Heyns later claimed to have been open to the "possible uses of the area by the community," but that the problem of legal liability and the intransigence of the park people was insurmountable. An ample number of witnesses to those conferences have indicated, however, that the park people would accept any structure convenient to the University for handling its liability—as long as the community retained control. Heyns in effect admitted this when he said, "I established the broad conditions that would have to prevail . . . the area would have to remain under the control of the University . . . and it must not be used as a public meeting area. . . . They refused to accept the basic premise that the design and use of the area was finally the responsibility of the University, no matter how flexible the design or liberal the use."

The issue to the park people was control over a portion of their environment, and Heyns offered them instead an extension course in Spontaneous Park Play 1. When they rejected that, Heyns concluded: "I had no feasible alternative except to fence the area."

LIKE OTHER UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS, Roger Heyns is fond of observing that student activists are not willing to be held accountable for their actions. He reminds them that freedom entails responsibility. Men of power have a great deal more freedom of action than do students and should have commensurately more responsibility. Yet from the moment that Heyns decided to erect the fence (and there has never been any doubt that it was his decision, since there were no orders from the Regents or the Governor,

and several other options existed), he proceeded to act as if he had no relation to the disaster he brought on.

The Chancellor was aware that the erection of the fence would provoke a strong reaction from the South Campus community. "Did we take into account that there was a risk of confrontation?" he later wrote in an official report. "Of course we did. We had been told there would be one." Because of that expectation he requested the massive police presence in Berkeley that morning. As Berkeley City Manager Hanley later stated in his official chronicle of events, "The University had made arrangements through the Sheriff of Alameda County for the law enforcement help it believed would be necessary to protect the construction crews." Then, after setting up the machinery of confrontation, Heyns left town.

On the day the fence went up and 110 people were shot, the Chancellor was 2442 miles away in Washington, D.C. attending a meeting of the National Science Foundation. He was to tell a reporter that he went to the meeting because of his "long-standing interest in science," but he did not say just why he had picked that particular day to put up the fence. Vice Chancellor Cheit, the only other person with any authority over the park issue, had himself taken off to a meeting of the Regents in Los Angeles. In the absence of Heyns and Cheit, Vice Chancellor Johnson was left in charge of the University, and he was to tell a student who called during the day of crisis that "I did not know that the fence would be going up last night. I was told not to expect any problems." The only person in a position of authority at the University who was on top of events was the head of the Campus Police Force, Captain Beall. A cop had been left to represent the University—the same cop who, as former chief of the Berkeley city police, had made his reputation by defining the South Campus community as the enemy camp. Heyns had started a war, and as is the custom, he would claim that he was helpless in the hands of his generals. He later disowned responsibility for the violence, telling the academic Senate, "As you know, I have no authority over law enforcement. . . ."

But the general whom Heyns left in command was not Captain Beall, nor the smooth Berkeley Police Chief Baker, both of whom understand that at least some of the people connected with the University are legitimate citizens. It was rather Sheriff Frank Madigan who was to be the supreme commander of all military forces in Berkeley, including the National Guard. The Chancellor attempted to beg off responsibility for this on the grounds that it was Reagan's state of emergency proclamation that specified that the Sheriff would be in charge. But on May 24, after the Berkeley City Council had demanded that the proclamation be suspended, Reagan responded by saying that it was the University which had asked for the state of emergency back in February during the Third World student strike on campus and "the Administration has not since then at any time requested it be dropped." There was no response from the University either asking that it be lifted or denying the accuracy of Reagan's statement.

Undoubtedly Heyns had great reservations about the style of the men who became his bedfellows in the issue of People's Park. The Chancellor is a connoisseur of the soft sell, an expert in pseudo-management. His public relations people point out that "his work as a scholar has concentrated on decision-making in small groups, social conformity, non-conformity and measurement of social motives." Frank Madigan's official

grapher reports that he is esteemed for "his intimate knowledge of subversives, communists, gangsters, with facts about his fingertips." Madigan has been with the County Sheriff's Department since 1932; he is an alumnus of the elite Phi Kappa Phi National Academy and a recipient of the California American Legion award for "untiring zeal" in narcotics law enforcement. Meanwhile Heyns sits on national educational councils and writes books like *The Psychology of Personal Adjustment* and *An Anatomy for Conformity*.

But, matters of style aside, the assumptions of the two about what is socially important and about the nature of the enemy are remarkably similar. To Madigan, the whole crisis had been generated by "anarchists and revolutionaries" who will "continue until they take this form of government down, starting with the educational system and then with law enforcement." To Heyns, it was "the intransigent determination of radicals to make extreme demands and to provoke confrontation." To both, the protection of the idea of property (in this case institutional rather than private) as sacred had to be defended at all costs lest the example of its violation be followed elsewhere.

Heyns' first point of reference was always as property manager—not as educator, cultural innovator, or even social analyst. In a statement to the Academic Senate which seemed to parrot the line of campus Marxists, he said: "While the analogy is not perfect, it may make the point: a conservative landlord was confronted with an unauthorized tenant whose original announced intention was to create a 'cultural, political, freakout, and rap center of the western world,' and I was the business manager."

It is not surprising that those who attacked the landlord's property became the "Viet Cong"—an enemy who by definition could not be seriously committed to decent and positive ideals, because anyone who makes trouble for landlords could not care about people. The analogy with Viet-Nam seemed increasingly relevant as the U.S. Army occupied Berkeley over the objections of its citizens and, finally, its City Council.

Heyns sounded like a Secretary of State when, in apologizing for possible excesses of the troops, he insisted that enemy aggression had to be contained: "The original appropriation of University property by people with no claim to it was an unjustified aggression and, obviously, it was an unjustified use of force for hundreds of people to attempt to re-take the land last Thursday. These acts did not minimize violence—they provoked it." Like Dean Rusk, he ignored the initial aggression; the attempt to shape the history of a people and culture which wanted none of it.

The Chancellor had built his strategic hamlet in the South Campus to split the good natives from the bad, but it hadn't worked and the bad guys had more influence among the neighbors than before. As a result he was "forced" into "measured responses"—step-by-step escalation: the soft sell was replaced by the hard line. The soccer field and the fence were replaced by shotgun killers and a helicopter selectively bombing the campus with tear gas. The concept of strategic hamlets had failed; they were replaced by hardened generals and over-killing B-52's. It begins with the stated goal of rooting out the handful of agitators and ends in treating the whole population as the enemy. In both cases much is made of the presumed "insincerity" of the revolutionary, but what is ignored is the fact that the revolutionary succeeds only when he has managed to strike a responsive chord in the people.

Those who built the People's Park touched one of the deep needs of people who feel their lives have been trivialized by a consumer society, who feel powerless against big institutions and their planning, and who find the dominant culture dull, lonely and oppressive. This is what made the park important and legitimate.

The University could not fulfill these needs—even if it had wanted to—without fundamentally challenging its own assumptions and structure as well as those of the larger society. Being committed to the preservation of the dominant institutions and power arrangement at all costs, the University was forced to treat any who threatened those relationships as an implacable enemy to be removed at any price. If the enemy resisted, then it was necessary to fight a war of example lest others be encouraged to repeat the resistance. This all-out war can only be justified by placing the enemy in a sub-human, scapegoat category: "street people, Viet Cong, Nigger."

The policy begins with "reasonable" men, as it did in Viet-Nam and in Berkeley, but it must always end with the hawks. If one assumes that the values of the powerful are sacred and that those who fundamentally challenge them are devils, then a holy crusade is ultimately in order. When the more benign tactics fail, the conditions have been created for the more extreme. Thus, however much they demur later on, the Heynses unleash the Reagans.

Heyns undoubtedly believed that Madigan and Reagan had overreacted, but he had to support publicly the "necessity" of their actions. When President Hitch entered some mild disclaimers, Reagan thundered that Hitch was trying to "weasel his way to the other side" of the battle. Hitch backed off. When Berkeley Mayor Wallace Johnson suggested vaguely that Madigan had acted "clumsily," the sheriff shot back, "I suggest the mayor take his umbrella to the Berkeley Munich, wherever that might be." Johnson backed off too. In the appeaser syndrome, the hawks are always on top.

At the Regents' meeting of June 20, Reagan pushed through a proposal to build student housing on the park site. The Regents rejected a compromise proposal of University president Hitch who now vainly tried to get the Regents to lease the land to the city for seven years, with a portion set aside for a user developed park. Reagan denounced this, saying it would "appear as nothing but a cop-out on this issue. We bought this land for \$1.3 million for a specific use," a fact which Chancellor Heyns could hardly deny, since it was his original proposal now come home to haunt him. Heyns argued lamely that the situation had changed, and the People's Park idea now "drew support from the entire University community and the people of Berkeley. . . . This is now a popular issue. It is not an issue to fight on." It all sounded a bit like Dean Rusk concluding that the war in Viet-Nam had been a tactical mistake—the wrong war at the wrong time. But Reagan was pleased with the development of the war, and now he was in charge.

Regent Fred Dutton best summarized the whole People's Park affair when he said after the Board of Regents' vote: "This Board offered repression and no solutions. The center keeps shrinking, and we are the provocateurs."

Reporters on this article: Nancy Bardacke, Rick Brown and Art Goldberg.

RAMPAGE

THE FOLLOWING REPORT summarizes an investigation prompted by the obvious failure of the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, the Alameda County Grand Jury, the District Attorney and the F.B.I. to seriously inquire into the indiscriminate shooting and killing by members of law enforcement agencies during the recent occupation of Berkeley—an inquiry that would lead to the prosecution of those officers involved.

UNDER THE DIRECTION of Dugald Stermer, with Robert Scheer, former F.B.I. agent Bill Turner (who drafted the final report), Harvey Cohen and private investigator Harold Lipset, RAMPARTS compiled this detailed chronology of a bloody rampage through the streets of Berkeley, on Thursday, May 15, by a 15-man squad of "peace officers," including the tragic facts surrounding the killing of James Rector.—THE EDITORS

[THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1969,
12:30 P.M.]

THE MARCH TO "repossess" the People's Park had just ended, and Telegraph Avenue was jammed with marchers and onlookers. On the east side of the intersection of Telegraph and Haste Street (see Map, Figure 1) were barricades and a wall of Berkeley police, augmented by California highway patrolmen. The police were decked out in riot gear—they were there to bar access to the People's Park.

Some verbal taunts flew, then some debris was tossed at the police. Someone uncapped the ancient fire hydrant on the northwest corner of the intersection and the stream of water was deflected to drench several highway patrolmen.

At this crucial moment a squad of 15

men in blue jump suits and deep blue riot helmets, with service revolvers on their hips, batons in their hands, and gas mask tote bags slung over their shoulders, moved in. Their leader, wearing sergeant's stripes, recapped the hydrant. A segment of the crowd fell back to the west on Haste, and a few missiles were flung. The blue-clad squad hesitated, then pulled back. In about 15 minutes they reappeared, armed with 12-gauge magnum shotguns.

Officially, the Sheriff's Department does not have a Tactical Squad, but the paramilitary manner in which the 15-man squad went into action that day made it one, de facto. After the initial confrontation with the marchers over the hydrant incident, the deputies had rendez-voused with an unmarked white patrol car which was serving as a mobile

arsenal. On the instructions of Chief Deputy Sheriff Thomas Houchins, in plainclothes, they had obtained the shotguns. Subsequently, Sheriff Madigan would state that only birdshot, which is not considered to have a human kill potential, was issued. When it became irrefutably clear that some size "00" buckshot, a much heavier and more lethal load, had been issued, the Sheriff revised his story to say that the supply of birdshot had run out and some buckshot had indeed been given out. The fact is that birdshot and buckshot had been issued simultaneously.

In charge of the 15-man sheriff's squad was Sergeant Louis Santucci, badge 13, of Pleasanton. In the following photographic sequence of the squad's sweep through the Telegraph Avenue area, Santucci is identifiable by his sleeve stripes, the radio pack slung on his back, the coiled mike cable draped over his left shoulder and the mike head hanging loosely over his left breast, as well as his bulky physique and protruding stomach. The sergeant's regular assignment is as a gang boss at the sheriff's Santa Rita detention center, which means herding and guarding prisoners on work gangs. (Some others in the squad also are gang bosses at Santa Rita.)

The witnesses who furnished this account of the deputies' rampage through Berkeley were not, understandably, glancing at their watches. Therefore the times are approximate, but the sequence of events is definite.

[SAME DAY, 1:00 P.M.]

As the deputies, now armed with shotguns and with gas masks on, started their sweep west on Haste, RAMPARTS photographer and Cal student Elihu Blotnick stood facing them in the street. He took a photograph (Figure 2) showing a Berkeley officer hurling a tear gas cannister while, on the extreme left, Sergeant Santucci fires his shotgun into a

[A DESCRIPTION OF THE 'BLUE MEANIES']

Many in the crowd were familiar with those uniforms and with the burly sergeant. They were Alameda County sheriff's deputies. They had been called in during the February campus "emergency" declared by Governor Reagan over the Third World Liberation Front controversy, and the students had dubbed them "The Blue Meanies" after the repressive forces in the Beatles' film, *The Yellow Submarine*.

Normally, the deputies are limited to duties such as acting as "work gang bosses" and court bailiffs, transporting prisoners and policing rural areas of the county and smaller cities which do not have their own police forces. Even among the police, they are considered rather crude and *declassé*

—unprofessional in the sense that they are versed only in the physical and martial arts. As one progressive police chief delicately phrased it, "They aren't exactly sensitive to urban problems."

Under a mutual assistance pact, a law enforcement agency in the Bay Area can request assistance from other agencies. On May 15, delegations from the California Highway Patrol, the Oakland Police and the San Francisco Police, which dispatched its crack Tactical Squad, were on hand. The sheriff's department would have entered Berkeley without invitation, however, in compliance with standing instructions from Governor Reagan issued during last February's "emergency." On May 15, Alameda County Sheriff Madigan was in line with these instructions, the supreme commander of all law enforcement present.

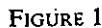


FIGURE 3

FIGURE 4

[1:45 P.M.]

Sociology student Melvin C. Harrison Jr. was on the roof of a building at Telegraph and Dwight Way when he spotted an overturned car burning two blocks south, at Telegraph and Parker. He wanted to take pictures, he says, but did not care to hazard the two-block trip down Telegraph, because he had just seen a white unmarked patrol car careening back and forth on the street trying to intercept two young men. So he walked west on Dwight intending to go around the back way. Ahead, at the corner of Dwight and Dana, a small crowd had gathered. According to Harrison: "Suddenly the crowd broke and ran, and I sensed that the police were coming from somewhere. One youth tarried, then started to dash west on Dwight. From the right [*north on Dana*] a deputy appeared, running. The deputy rounded the corner, stopped, and leveled his gun at the fleeing youth. He dipped his gun for an instant, then re-leveled it and fired. The youth went sprawling into the gutter. Without a second look, the deputy wheeled and strode back in the direction from which he had come. His gas mask was not on, and his face was

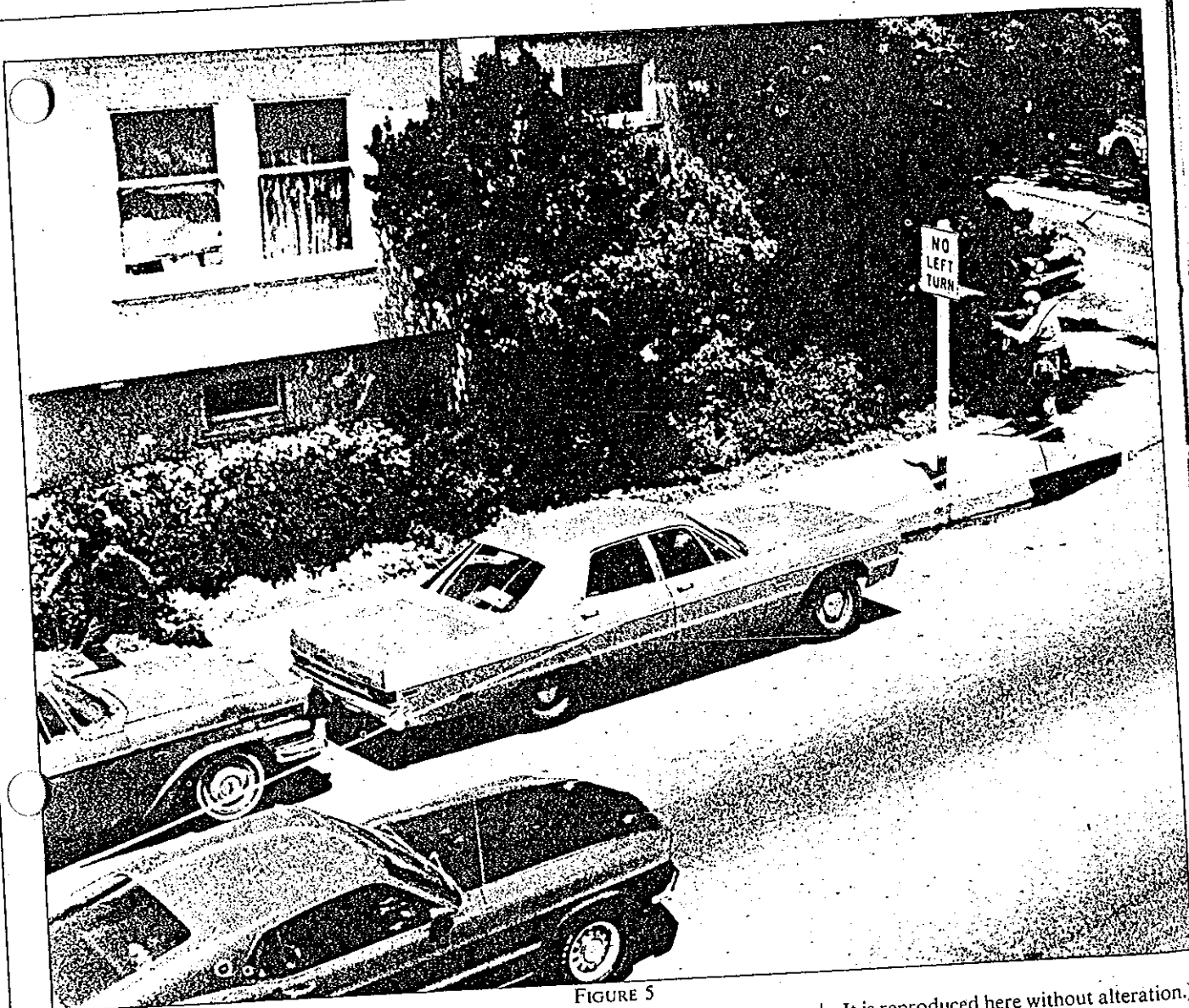


FIGURE 5

visible through the clear plastic face shield. I recognized him. He was the sergeant in charge of the deputies during the Third World Strike in February."

From their second-floor apartment on the southwest corner of Dwight and Dana, 34-year-old Emmitt N. Wallace Jr. and his wife Johanna had also seen the small crowd. The people had come from the direction of Telegraph, and the Wallaces assumed they were escaping the tear gas. All at once the crowd ran—a squad of deputies was coming from the north on Dana. One deputy hurried around the corner and aimed his shotgun at the long-haired youth who had been the last to flee. The Wallaces did not hear any command to halt. Emmitt Wallace aimed his camera, snapping the shutter at almost the precise moment that the deputy pulled the trigger. "I couldn't believe he would actually

shoot," Wallace remembers.

Wallace's photograph (Figure 5) was published in the San Francisco Chronicle several days later. Encircled at the left is the running victim, an anti-gas cloth over his nose. Encircled at the right is the deputy. Two other deputies can be seen in the extreme upper right corner behind the top of the traffic signal.

Sheriff Madigan reacted to the photograph's publication by charging that the victim had thrown an object at the deputies and, when identified, would be booked for assault. Producing a copy of the photograph, he pointed out a "pile of rocks and debris" on the corner which, by implication, had been the missile's source. The Chronicle photo, he alleged, had been doctored to obliterate the pile. (The Chronicle's copy was lighter, but the pile was there if, in the newspaper's words, "not as discernable."

It is reproduced here without alteration.)

Significantly, Madigan did not produce the deputy who had fired the shot to corroborate his claim that objects were thrown. And when the victim, Chris Venn, was finally identified in public, no charge was filed against him. The reason might lie in the fact that three civilian witnesses, the Wallaces and Harrison, contradict the contention that Venn—or anyone—threw anything. According to the Wallaces, the rocks were most likely left on the corner by a teenage boy who at least a half hour before had tried to reach and bash in the traffic signal. (Venn, who was on probation for destroying his draft card, subsequently was jailed—by federal authorities; his probation was revoked for reasons supposedly unrelated to the incident.)

Prompted by Madigan's rock-throwing charge and his refusal to name the

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not Venn, Melvin Harrison
raph Avenue with his cam-
tie. He is still in town, and
photograph of the man he
ntified as the shooter (Fig-
uxtaposition to Harrison's
Alameda sheriff's personnel
of Badge 13, Sergeant Louis
ure 7).



FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

[2:00 P.M.]

he deputies trooped south on Dana
swung east on Parker toward the
rsection where the car was still burn-
A y proceeded up Parker, some
d their shotguns at an oblique angle
to the pavement to scatter bystanders.
e squad then marshalled on the far

side of Telegraph, next to a Standard
Oil station. [2:15 P.M.]

The burning car had attracted a large
curious crowd. A Berkeley police skir-
mish line had driven them down Tele-
graph to the south. The police had
lobbed tear gas cannisters, forcing them
back still further. The crowd merely
watched. "Things were in this static
state," recounts graduate history student
Raymond Gozzi, "when blue-overalled
police arrived on the scene."

En route to the campus with his wife,
Elizabeth, Gozzi had stopped to watch,
too. "Neither my wife nor I saw any ob-
ject thrown in the direction of the blue-
overalled police," he recalls. "We heard
nothing shouted at the police. We saw
nobody approach closer than a half
block to the police." Suddenly, the depu-
ties moved onto Telegraph, "raised their
shotguns and started firing at the
crowd." Coincidentally, three or four
young men were casually crossing the
street between the deputies and the
crowd. Says Gozzi: "As both my wife
and I watched, we saw one of the young
men who had been crossing Telegraph
Avenue clutch both of his hands to his
face and fall forward onto the concrete.
He writhed there in pain. Some compan-
ions ran to him. The police kept firing."

Student Ron Stinnett, positioned on
the southwest corner of the intersection,
also saw the young man shot by a deputy.
When the deputies started shooting, he
says, he had the impression they might
have been aiming slightly over the heads
of the crowd. But then he saw a deputy
deliberately swing his gun onto the
young man who was crossing the street
and fire at a distance of some 35 feet.
The victim pitched to the gutter, and Stin-
nett snapped a photograph (Figure 8). In
the background, looking south on Tele-
graph, is, again, Sergeant Santucci.



FIGURE 8

[2:30 P.M.]

In loose formation, the deputies then
headed north on Telegraph, halting just
short of the intersection with Dwight
Way. There was a crowd standing
around looking north across an entirely
clear block. Some Berkeley police kept
the Dwight Way access to the People's
Park blocked off. Nothing of conse-
quence was happening. Sergeant San-
tucci got on his radio.

The spectacle was being observed by
people on the roofs of buildings lining
the east side of Telegraph. On the roof of
a white-faced three-story building hous-
ing the boarded-up Granma bookstore
were about a half dozen persons who
had clambered up an outside stairway to
get above a thin pall of tear gas that had
hung at street level (Figure 9). James B.
Rector, from San Jose, who had been
visiting friends in Berkeley was among
them. The 26-year-old Rector has his
back to the camera; he is wearing a dark
leather jacket and a white cloth is hang-
ing from his right rear pocket.

Atop a two-story pink stucco building
immediately to the south, approximately

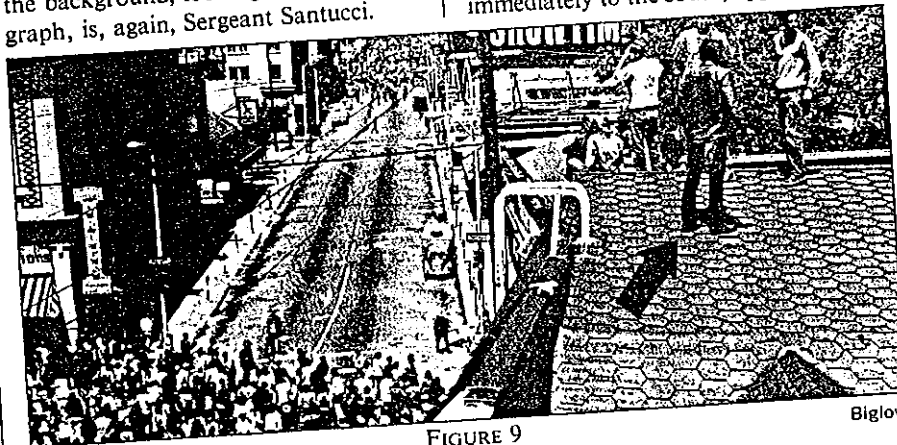


FIGURE 9

Biglow



FIGURE 10

Blotnick

17 persons were clustered about the penthouse offices of the Telegraph Repertory Cinema (Figure 10). Among them is Alan Blanchard (arrow), age 29, an employee of the Cinema, an artist, and the father of a three-month-old son. On the roof of the building further south was a tall red-headed youth who, according to witnesses, had been drinking beer. He had a small rock in each hand, and he cocked his arm. Alan Blanchard and George Pauly of the Repertory Cinema yelled at him not to throw.

The rocks arched down onto the street, bounced, and one brushed a freelance photographer in the heel. He and other witnesses claim that it did not hit close to any deputy and that no other missile was thrown.

The deputies stiffened. Eight or nine

of them (according to an analysis of a number of photographs taken at the time) aimed their shotguns at the rooftops. A count of the spent shell casings visible afterwards on the pavement indicates that at least nine shots were fired.

The two deputies in this photograph (Figure 11) are located in front of the building from which the stones were thrown. Their aim, however, is diagonal, toward one of the two rooftops to the north.

Still farther up the line is Sergeant Santucci (Figure 12, opposite), whose aim is in the general direction of the two rooftops. The slighter sergeant, who appears under the barrel of Santucci's gun, is a Berkeley policeman. The deputy at left center with his shotgun elevated at 45 degrees has just fired a shot, as the



FIGURE 11

shell casing ejecting from the chamber indicates. At the extreme lower left a shell casing standing on end in the street can be seen. A few seconds later Santucci and the other deputy lowered their shotguns and looked in the direction of their aim.

A photograph taken about five seconds after the firing had ceased (the passage of two utility trucks and a compact station wagon in the southbound lanes provides a time frame of reference for the sequence of events) shows a number of the deputies still at the ready (Figure 13).

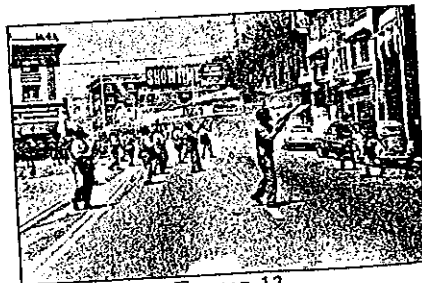


FIGURE 13

The deputy in the foreground standing on the white stripe apparently is the only one who fired at the rooftop from which the stones were thrown. Three empty shell casings are on the pavement in front of him, and the brick is a few feet to his rear. James Rector was watching from the white-faced building with outside fire escape. The penthouse from which Alan Blanchard was watching is to the right, in back of the utility pole.

After milling around uncertainly at the corner of Telegraph and Dwight for a time, the deputies moved east a number of yards on Dwight and met with the white unmarked car. They obtained fresh supplies of ammunition and stood around conversing and joking.

Meanwhile, on the rooftops, Rector and Blanchard had been seriously wounded. Rector would tell a hospital surgeon that he "looked down and saw a policeman aiming what appeared to be a scatter gun at me. . . . I turned to run and was shot in the left side." Witnesses on the roof say the force was so great—it jackknifed Rector—that they thought he had been struck with a tear gas projectile. History graduate student Michael Meo grabbed the victim, preventing him from tumbling off the roof. Rector lay on his back on the roof as blood gushed from his wounds and ran down the shingles (Figure 14). Blanchard, who ironically had tried to stop the brick-throwing, was carried inside the penthouse bleed-

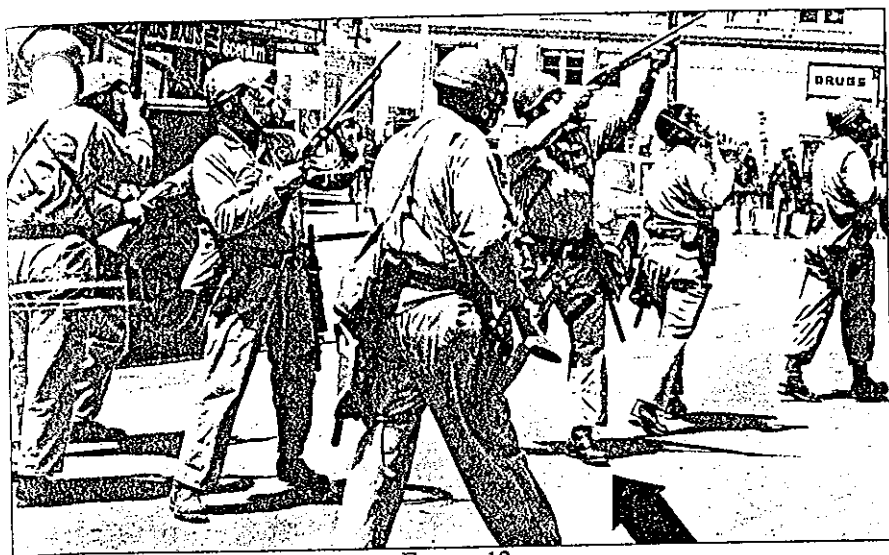


FIGURE 12

ing profusely about the head region and lightly in the torso and arms (Figure 15).

One of the penthouse people hurried down onto the street to summon aid. Three policemen—two from Berkeley and one highway patrolman—came up. They took one look at Blanchard, turned and left. "That's what you get for fucking around," one of them admonished.

It was about 45 minutes before ambulance took Rector and Blanchard to the hospital. Rector had suffered massive hemorrhaging and severe internal injuries. Surgeons removed his spleen, one kidney and part of his pancreas. Four days later he died.

Blanchard, the artist, was permanently blinded. Birdshot had literally exploded one eye and damaged the other to the extent that it lost 90 per cent of its vision.

[3:00 P.M.]

Following their rest break on Dwight

Way, the deputies proceeded to the vicinity of People's Park. The crowd had been dispersed. Several commandeered National Guard jeeps and took off.

Standing at the intersection of Telegraph and Carleton Street, RAMPARTS Office Manager Charles Rudnick saw one jeep with four deputies and an unmarked car coming. There was gunfire from the jeep. Two bystanders fell, then rose and limped away.

At the corner of Parker and Regent, painting contractor Clarence J. Elson had just double-parked his truck. He had been inspecting a job site, had caught a whiff of tear gas and was looking for a water faucet in order to wash his eyes. "As I alighted from the truck," he says, "I noticed two policemen, gas masks on, and one of the policemen had either a rifle or pistol aimed and shot me in the leg. The blue-helmeted men were at about 125 feet from me," Edson recalls,

"and just stood there two or three seconds. I had to drag my leg over to my truck and when I looked up again they were gone. In no way did they give me assistance or medical aid of any kind."

Apartment-house owner Richard Ehernberger was walking north on Regent between Derby and Parker, heading for his car. A few people were wandering about the street. Ehernberger saw a deputy about 50 yards away, near the corner of Parker. Ehernberger is not politically active and dresses conventionally, but he does have a beard. During the curfew last summer he had been chased and beaten by police, and friends had told him it was because he had run. When he saw a deputy aim a barreled weapon at him, Ehernberger related, "I didn't run and didn't believe the deputy would actually shoot." The shot tore through his right calf, leaving a channel that was the size of a .30 caliber bullet or a buckshot slug.

A student walking on Regent at that time recounts that a deputy at the corner of Regent and Parker "stood for a few seconds, looking at the quiet, almost deserted street, then slowly raised his gun and pointed it down the street." The student ducked and heard a shot and a cry of pain.

More outraged than disabled, Ehernberger got in his car and drove to City Hall. He stormed past the receptionist and into the office of Mayor Wallace Johnson, blood dripping onto the thick carpet. The mayor wasn't in. Says Ehernberger, "I was going to ask him just what the hell is going on in our town."

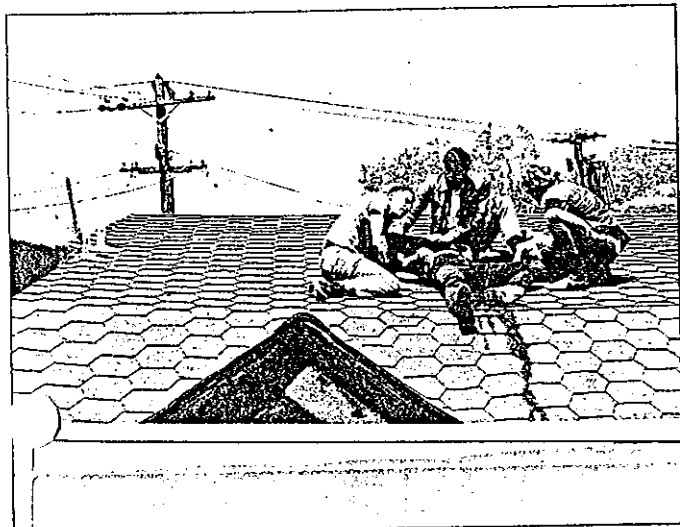


FIGURE 14



FIGURE 15

READERS' GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Battle of Berkeley. Nat R 21:578-9 Je 17 '69
 Battle of Berkeley. II Newsweek 73:35-6+ Je 2 '69
 Dialectics of confrontation. R. Scheer. II Ramp Mag 8:42-9+ Ag '69
 Flower power; People's park issue. II Newsweek 73:92 Je 9 '69
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Riots

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State of insurrection & rebellion. T. H. Watkins. II Am West 7:42-7 Ja '70

Police

State of insurrection & rebellion. T. H. Watkins. II Am West 7:42-7 Ja '70

Police department

They shoot hippies, don't they? with introd. by F. Hayden, and interview with R. Charles. P. Browning. II Ramp Mag 9:14-23 N '70

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It's still there, but maybe not much longer. J. R. Coyne, Jr. Nat R 22:305 Mr 24 '70
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THE PARK

People's Park 1969--An Historical Perspective

If you were there, and everyone in Berkeley was "there" in one way or another, you may well know all you want to know about People's Park. But if you weren't in Berkeley that Spring, or time has dimmed your memory of the events surrounding that embattled piece of land, consider investigating the resources of the Berkeley Public Library for information.

Only a few books have been written about the Park. Perhaps the best of these, edited by Alan Copeland, is People's Park. Copies are available in both the main collection and in the Art and Music Room. Check in the catalog for call numbers.

Thomas Parkinson's Protect the Earth has a section on the Park, as does William Irwin's We Protest, which, like Copeland's book, is a photo-essay.

Because the Park controversy is a comparatively recent issue, most information is in newspaper and magazine articles. Use the Reader's Guide for magazine articles (Volume 29 has listings under "Berkeley, California--Parks and Playgrounds; Police; and Riots," and also under "California, University--Berkeley Campus." The New York Times Index (1969) lists several articles under the heading "Berkeley (Calif.)."

For the best local information, ask at the Reference Desk for microfilms of the Berkeley Gazette (especially April-June 1969) and the Berkeley Barb. The library has a collection, on microfilm, of underground newspapers. Many of these, such as the Los Angeles Free Press, have articles on the Park.

Also, the Art and Music Room has a record (S-83) by Robert Greer called "A Night at Santa Rita."

LIBRARY RESOURCES NUMBER THREE

PEOPLE'S PARK 1969--AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

June 22, 1957: Regents of the University allocated \$1.3 million for the purchase of land in the south campus area, including the site which was to become People's Park.

February 1968: Residents of the area were given notice of eviction and the houses were later razed. Building on the lot was postponed by the University for lack of funds.

April 13, 1969: Local store owners and residents of the area surrounding the lot met to discuss possible alternative uses for the area.

April 20: Following an article in the Berkeley Barb encouraging the creation of a park, several hundred people gathered on the lot to clear and level ground, plant trees, grass and flowers.

April 30-May 8: A number of meetings between the University and various People's Park committees took place.

May 13: UC Chancellor Heyns released a statement stating that the University would "...have to put up a fence to reestablish the conveniently forgotten fact that the field is indeed the University's.... The University is now prepared to proceed with site development. This property belongs to the Regents of the University of California and will not be available to unauthorized persons."

May 15: In the early morning, a fence was erected around the Park. In the early afternoon, Park supporters and police confronted each other. At least 48 Park supporters were arrested. Many, on both sides, were injured. James Rector was fatally wounded.

May 16: The National Guard moved into Berkeley.

May 22: 482 marchers were arrested in downtown Berkeley and taken to Santa Rita Prison.

May 30: Over 25,000 Park supporters marched peacefully through Berkeley.

TO THE PARK

Last week over thirty thousand people marched to show their support for the Park. While we have large numbers of people behind us, the opposition to our movement is split and unsure of its footing. Roger Heyns cautiously suggests leasing part of the land to the city while Ronald Reagan rants about never giving in. The National Guard is gone for now but the fence remains.

We will not let up the pressure while they try and salvage their badly damaged image. Last night an overflow meeting of park supporters at Longfellow school voted to continue demonstrating in the following ways:

(1) Assemble at Sproul Plaza this Friday evening at 8:00 p.m. and have a torch-light march to the park and continue a vigil there until midnight.

(2) Demonstrate at University Hall Saturday at 10:00 a.m. while the Regents Committee on Buildings and Grounds meets to consider what to do about the proposed leasing of the land.

(3) Promenade every evening thereafter around the park beginning at 7:00 p.m.

(4) Show our solidarity with those arrested in the mass bust, when they appear in court on June 16 to demand dismissal of charges (at the Courthouse Grove and Center St.)

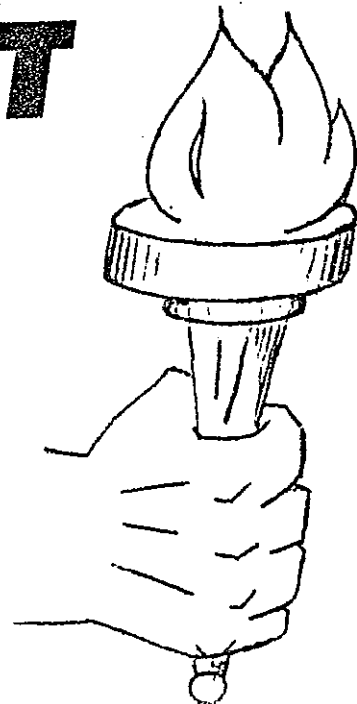
(5) Mobilize a massive demonstration of people from all over the bay area for the full Regents meeting on June 20th, when the question of the lease will be decided upon.

In these ways we hope to continue building broader support for the Park. But the park is only part of the picture. Many people at last night's meeting expressed their concern for the continuing organization of our community. There are rent control and police control initiatives to be gotten on the ballot. There are more parks to be built. Ugly apartment construction must be stopped. Committees are forming to deal with these and other questions this summer. If you'll be in Berkeley this summer join one or get together with your friends. If you're leaving take an information packet (available next week) with you and talk to the people in your community.

TORCH LIGHT PARADE

TONIGHT

SPROUL 8 P.M.



People's Park Negotiating Committee

RSU

39

PEOPLE OR QUAIL?



Over the weekend, university students, Berkeley residents, and at least one university employee still lay hospitalized with serious gunshot wounds. Some were near death. The total number of those gunned down by berserk police, if known, would undoubtedly exceed one hundred. On Saturday, even the ultra-conservative Berkeley *Gazette* in a front-page editorial asked the police commanders and the campus administration, "Were Things That Desperate?"

Chancellor Heyns returned to the campus from his customary out-of-town "conference"—a convenient device whenever his policy decisions require brutal enforcement—to see National Guardsmen surrounding a small piece of property now tainted with people's blood. Heyns, Cheit, and Johnson ought to resign in shame and disgrace and sorrow. But they continue unabated with their high-handed policies; only a perfunctory statement of "regret" at the many casualties indicates these administration officials are even aware of what has occurred. When Heyns' obscene "invitation" for student participation reappeared amid stories of bloodshed in Friday's *Daily Cal*, you didn't know whether to laugh or cry.

And what has happened on campus is considerably more serious than reports in the Bay Area press have suggested. University librarians and students, for example, narrowly escaped death Thursday when six 38 caliber slugs fired by overwrought police toward a crowd near Wheeler Hall slammed through a window in the Humanities Graduate Service (HGS).

THEY CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS

The university and Berkeley city administrations with their hired guns want to have it both ways. While our community is under police and military occupation, we are supposed to go about normal business. Behind the cover of guns and bayonets, Heyns makes his usual pretenses that nothing is wrong. Students are to keep their noses in their books and secretaries their hands on their typewriters, in blissful ignorance of the military occupation of their community. Berkeley city "leaders" think they can confine the "trouble" to the South Campus area, while profitable business can continue downtown behind the cover of occupying forces.

Saturday's downtown demonstration belied their smug plans. There was no "business as usual" on Shattuck Avenue. The people showed that freedom is indivisible. Those in power cannot continually deny our rights without also sacrificing their own.

Nor can Heyns, Cheit, and Co. have it both ways on the campus. They cannot be successful in calling on employees and students to fulfill their responsibilities, while at the same time denying their rights: our right to have a voice in policies affecting us, our right to work on a campus free from buzzing helicopters, pepper gas, and flying bullets; our right, indeed, to life itself.

We of AFT (TA's, RA's, and Readers) join AFSCME 1695 (Clerical and Technical workers) in demanding that Heyns invoke "emergency" regulation 14.2F to close the campus, with full pay for all employees, until the intolerable situation he has created ceases.

WE ARE PEOPLE WE HAVE RIGHTS WE WILL BE HEARD

Our sorrow and shock over Thursday's massacre cannot prevent us from meeting together to take whatever action we can.

AFSCME 1695: tonight (Monday), 7:30 p.m., at Shattuck Ave. CO-OP meeting room.

AFT 1570: tomorrow (Tuesday), 4 p.m., in 120 Boalt Hall (Law School).

May 19, 1969

Campus Friends of AFT 1570

Editorials

Vietnam Tactics In Berkeley

DOWNTOWN BERKELEY is now a proven battleground on which volleys of gunfire have been numerous and occasionally deadly, and the city has experienced a kind of total war in which an aerial gas attack overspread the target area to invade classrooms, private homes and a hospital.

One man is dead, scores have been wounded (many by random charges), and the citizens have been sickened by displays of force far in excess of provocation, necessity, or justification. The peace-keeping agencies, it appears, grossly overreacted to a situation that was undoubtedly troublesome but — up to the time of those displays, at least — not one requiring fusillades of bullets and a rain of gas from the skies.

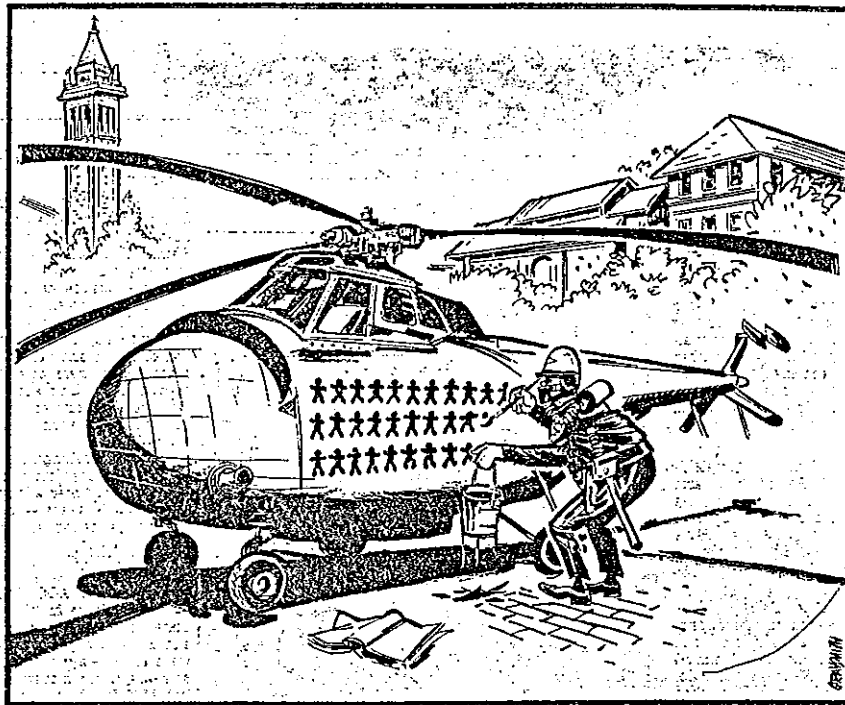
IN THEIR EFFORTS TO explain their massive resort to open warfare, the involved authorities have created a vast credibility gap. Sheriff Madigan's implications that his deputies were using nothing more dangerous than birdshot was gruesomely refuted by the post-mortem discovery of buckshot pellets in the heart of young James Rector. So was the repeated assertion of police that the fatal wounds were incurred in a fall from a rooftop.

Again, the assurance that armed peace officers were opening fire only when in danger of life or injury was completely discredited by the published photograph of a deputy sheriff carefully drawing a bead on the back of a fleeing and unarmed man.

NO WONDER, THEN, that the use of a helicopter to drop gas on an assembly of students — a piece of arrant recklessness at that time and place — should have generated widely credited reports that something far more deadly than tear gas had been brought into play.

Even yesterday, National Guard commanders were offering conflicting versions of who ordered the use of gas, and for what reasons. Not entirely convincing was one explanation that gas was employed "because the troops were in danger." In danger from what, one wonders.

The responsible authorities, civil and military, from Sheriff Madigan to the governor's office and back again, have introduced a kind of storm-trooper philosophy into the Berkeley confrontation. Let them de-escalate their zapping tactics promptly. At best, they have been guilty of incredibly bad judgment. They have thereby brought needless death and injury into the arena, have created bitter hostility among thousands of previously "uncommitted" students, and have outraged public opinion.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Life in an Occupied City

Editor—All Berkeley citizens, regardless of where their sympathies lie, are living in occupied territory. Their rights have been suspended since February, when the Governor declared the city in a state of emergency.

Berkeley serves as an example of how an American city and all its citizens may have their lives endangered by outside forces and their rights taken away from them by their elected government.

Americans who are disgusted with campus turmoil and favor strong arm methods of suppressing it, would do well to ponder how many of their own rights they are willing to relinquish in order to deprive dissidents of theirs.

MARCIA L. BROWN.

Berkeley.

Editor—The appalling situation in Berkeley today will be laid at the feet of the University of California and/or the law enforcement agencies concerned, in response to the active desire of Berkeley residents for retention of the small people-made park near the University campus.

The true villain, if one may be named, is the entire body politic of Berkeley, voters and Council alike. For at least the past 30 years sporadic efforts have been made, by the city and voter groups, to procure revenue or bond funds for park construction in the south Berkeley area. Nevertheless, the city's priorities have leaned more and more heavily toward heavy capital projects such as BART and street repair at the expense of the (largely unexpressed) wishes of the south Berkeley citizens.

Lip service to the wish for parks in south Berkeley on the part of the Council and the City Manager is not enough. The citizens of this city no longer request a park. They demand one.

The University's expansion south of campus has, over the past 10 years, taken a mechanistic, industrial approach which has

time has considered the citizens and taxpayers of this city. The tax base of Berkeley has been drastically reduced by taking property which formerly produced revenue to the city through taxation and placing it on the University's tax exempt rolls. The net effect is a higher tax rate for the remaining property in Berkeley.

Considering the feeling of Berkeley citizens, and realizing the inactive position of the Berkeley City Council in procuring parks in the south campus area, the University will not be mortally crippled by giving a small piece of land to the citizens of Berkeley. I say the citizens, because the city, if given the land, might provide a firehouse or similar "capital improvement" instead.

PATRICIA S. WHITING.

Berkeley.

Editor—The issue of People's Park has been blown out of proportion by inept University administration insensitive to feelings in the community, blind to community needs, and obviously used to dealing with conflict through thumping, heavy force rather than reason.

The park evolved out of a community need. It grew with community effort. It seemed almost a paradigm of a community self-help project — the kind social planners write about and social workers usually try in vain to instigate. And when the park was finished the University — which knew of the action occurring under its nose but did nothing — then destroyed the park.

And what does all this cost the city financially as well as psychologically? How many thousands are used to pay for the troops that prevent me from walking down city streets, police who tell me to move on while I try to shop, for the helicopters constantly hovering over my home? Who is accounting for the destruction of the park?

Berkeley feel when they see their streets turned into khaki green occupied zones?

Repression cannot solve problems. The University must attempt to negotiate with representatives of the community who built the park. Granted, these people did not go through "proper channels" at first. At the same time, the University did nothing to discourage the efforts of the builders until it was much too late. Communication did not exist from the start. Now communication is being attempted, as usual, by force.

The police and the national guard do not belong on the streets of Berkeley or any other American city.

JOAN L. ARAGONE.

Berkeley.

Editor—There are a number of issues raised by the current dispute. One of them is the helpless feeling a citizen has about his outrage at the means of law enforcement being used.

This is the real tragedy when a citizenry is disaffected with its government, when it becomes clear that government is no longer responsive to the voices of moral indignation.

As I understand the official explanation, law enforcement officers used guns when the officers found they had been isolated and were in personal jeopardy. But when you have guns in a situation, the guns are going to be used. Just the presence of guns changes the situation and makes it into a different kind of situation. Armed officers, knowing they have the security guns afford, for instance, are going to take greater risks and finally invite the circumstance that requires the guns to be used.

We need to disarm the world of nuclear weapons and crowd control units of shotguns. We need to and we must and we will if we are to regain sanity and peace.

JOHN HARRELL.

There Are Only Two Sides to The Revolution in Berkeley



(First of a series of columns on the
"People's Park" controversy.)

EVENTS IN THE latest and most history-making chapter of the Berkeley Revolution moved so swiftly last week that vital issues and realities were obscured by passions and transitory changing causes.

But the vital issues and realities remain these:

—The eventual confrontation between the "street people" and everyone else had to come. Everything was pointed this way—the long-time permissive nature of the city, the tailor-made conditions of a college community and its open campus, the traditions of Bay Area radicalism, the existence of a score of interlocking radical and activist groups on and off campus always ready to create spurious issues or exploit genuine issues.

—A rallying point for the disparate forces composing the loose amalgamation of "street people," anarcho-nihilists, professional revolutionaries, wayward hippies, runaways, etc., had to be found by those interested in creating conflict.

—Whatever else happens—whether all trouble ceases or bloodshed increases, whether the situation escalates or de-escalates, the first, fundamental step in the series of events was an illegal and provocative act: the seizure of a piece of property owned by the University of California in the name of the people of the State of California. No subsequent issue or series of issues must be allowed to obscure that fact.

—Despite the fact that most of the young people suckered into the "People's Park" building were undoubtedly honest and sincere, statements by leaders of leftist revolutionary organizations before, after and during the park's construction clearly indicated the interest of some of these people and groups in engineering yet another confrontation.

These groups and organizations are an amalgamation of pro-Peking Communist groups and satellite units. Some of them are clustered under the umbrella of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (BARU). They include Progressive Labor (the Chinese Communist front in the U.S.A.), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS — which on the West Coast involves essentially a pro-Peking Communist bent) and other avowedly Marxist-Leninist people and groups including the Red Guard. There is no other way to call them: they are by their own admission revolutionary Communists.

No amount of breast-beating about "McCarthyism" and "Red-baiting" will obscure that fact. No amount of failure to Red-bait where there are Reds to be baited will diminish the

Leaflets were handed out on campus last week asking "the people" to "arm themselves." Among BARU leaflets circulating last week was one entitled "How We Can Deal with the Pigs" and which said, among other things, "if you don't have a gun, get one and learn to use it."

—From the outset, known leaders of the disruptive Free Speech Movement were in evidence at the building of the People's Park. Aside from such standout personages as Art Goldberg and Mario Savio, one-time SDS militant Tom Hayden and a spate of revolutionaries connected with the Oakland Army Induction Center riots of 1967 were also involved.

—Americans, who have never before in modern history been involved in authentic revolution and therefore have no real idea of what it is, are quick to overreact to extreme policing. The fact of the matter is—and even with a fatality and some serious injuries—the actual policing of Berkeley in the current crisis has been restrained. Thus far, we have witnessed tear gas and buckshot rather than machineguns and tanks.

—The National Guard and mutual aid police units did not ask to be here, and they were not enjoying the long hours. The REASON they were here — the guilt for their presence, and therefore the guilt for the violence and bloodshed that have followed—is to be found with those who engineered and planned the "People's Park."

—As long as there are authentically revolutionary elements in Berkeley bent on confrontation and disruption, there can be no "honest discourse," no "dialogue." Talks now, which can and must continue, must be aimed at separating areas of authentic dissidence from the maneuverings of professional agitators. But for the latter there is only one course of action: the hardest line possible.

—Ultimately, and despite the copious outpourings of verbiage, most of it well intended, the essential truth in the current crisis—just as in all the other like crises which have plagued Berkeley for the past five years, is this:

Law, order, the structured society, and civilization itself are under attack by chaos, anarchy and planned revolution. Berkeley is the coming national crisis writ small—it is a preview, a test, a laboratory experiment.

Of course there is polarization. Of course there is division. The decision is to stand on the side of freedom under law or on the side of revolution-engendered tyranny.

5/26/69

Fresh Issues Helped Obscure Reality of the 'People's Park'



(Second in a series of columns on the "People's Park" controversy.)

NO ONE YET knows—or at least is saying—just when, where and how the genesis of the "People's Park" idea was.

It is known, to anyone who takes the trouble to probe deeply, that there was nothing spontaneous about its "creation" in Berkeley, that it is doubtless part of a grander scheme, and that the leading lights in its development are seasoned Berkeley agitators.

Naturally — as if by plan — the issue of the "People's Park" as a provocative confrontation is now tidily obscured by all the other issues which have — happily enough, for the agitators — been raised.

These include authentic as well as mythical police excesses, authentic as well as exaggerated cases of prisoner harassment, extreme physical injury—and of course, the cause celebre of all causes celebres, martyrdom. This latter is entirely new in Berkeley's five ceaseless years of incidents, mass marches, contrived confrontations and flings at campus, street and general warfare.

To a large extent, bad policing by certain outside agencies, awkward maneuvers like the Sproul Hall gassing, and certainly firing into non-provoking clusters of people have vastly enhanced "The Cause."

Which is the way these things always seem to work. Now, whatever the city and campus officials do or don't do cannot be the "right" move. There is no real "negotiation" with dishonesty. There is only brute force to be used to put it down—and brute force is odious, upsetting to most people, and essentially alien to the American system.

However, outside law enforcement agencies did not ask to be here, and their guilt lies exclusively in the all-too human area of emotional over-reaction to dangerous situations which they had no hand in creating.

The blatant dishonesty of the "People's Park" issue is traceable at the outset from seasoned Berkeley agitator Art Goldberg, a visible leader of the disruptive Free Speech Movement that convulsed the UC campus in 1964-65 and set the tone for campus revolution nationwide.

Goldberg has been quoted in the Communist-leaning Guardian newspaper as saying the takeover of the famous Bowditch St. UC-owned property was "not merely a spontaneous, joyous outpouring by revolutionaries, idealists, flower children and do gooders."

It wasn't? From the mass of propaganda which has spewed forth concerning this whole rigged affair, we have all been led to believe it WAS in fact such a "spontaneous outpouring."

"For most participants," Goldberg went on, "it was a calculated political act, designed to put the expansionist and repressive university up against a wall . . .

"The radicals looked upon the project as a means of concretely raising the issue of arrogant and uncontrolled university expansion into the community. More important, however, they saw the land grab as an "exemplary action" which people in other places would imitate."

In the local underground press, the omnipresent Goldberg is again quoted as saying, "This is the beginning of resistance.

"After a couple of weeks the kids won't let anybody take away their park. We will do what's necessary to defend it."

Another famous FSMer who has been on the scene was none other than Mario Savio, a one-time Peace and Freedom Party senatorial candidate.

Savio helped lead a strategy session at Merritt College May 16 at which he noted that "we've tried to shut down the university a couple of times and that hasn't worked."

The meeting was called by the Communist-infiltrated Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), The Marxist-Leninist Independent Socialist Club (ISC), and the Trotskyist Communist youth arm, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), a chief instigator of last year's summer of Berkeley riots.

Paul Glusman, ISC leader one of the chief forces in the takeover last October of Moses Hall, has referred to the park "acquisition" as a "relentless pursuit of their (the people's) manifest destiny." (He has also unleashed such quotables as "Let me make this crystal clear. I want the United States to lose the war in Vietnam.")

An ISC pamphlet also tells it like it is: "Now we have to fight, we have to work, to build a movement which can take and hold not only that park, but this city and this nation."

Stewart Albert, now a veteran Berkeley radical and also involved in the Moses Hall takeover, has called the "People's Park" a workout in "soulful socialism."

As if to assure further trouble, the ISC leaflet added: "There can be no peace, no victory until we have dissolved their"—(apparently, "our")—"army and abolished their police."

It should be clear that at least on the part of vocal and agitating elements within the builders of the "People's Park," the "park" was not intended as a park—but as a declaration of war against structured American society. These elements—not police and the National Guard—declared war.

(Third in a series of columns on the "People's Park" controversy.)

THE BUILDERS AND defenders of the "People's Park" have given the impression the grab of UC property on 2.3 acres behind the 2400 block of Telegraph Ave. was an oh-so-good, oh-so-humane workout in ecology action.

Well, there certainly were a lot of humane ingredients in this illegal act. And without doubt 98 out of 100 builders probably thought they were doing a right thing, a just thing.

The tenuous philosophical underpinning for those espousing the ecology approach to the illegal act is that Berkeley has far too few parks and recreational areas and that—shucks, folks, this is just a big empty lot. Deceptively clever.

The city is laying plans, of course, for the Willard park—a bigger site than the area in contention—but it is still some time away. And, let's face it, Berkeleyans have been narrowly voting down recreation and parks bonds by slim majorities for the past several years.

The nub of the reality is this: if simply having a park were REALLY what the "People's Park" planners wanted, they would eventually have had one—blocks away from the turf they consider their "own." And in a republic—which is (thank Heaven!) what we still are, rather than a democracy, despite all the breast-beating to the contrary—we seek and develop parks and recreational areas through established law: in Berkeley, for example, through bond issues. Until the Republic is destroyed—and much of it has been, at least in form—that's the way we do it in the U.S.A.

Marching in and taking over another's property is not the exercise of a government under law; it is the stuff of anarchy, which always precedes—as we have seen in Berkeley—dictatorship.

Now, what organized elements were in fact involved in the "People's Park"?

We have referred to the intriguing fact that veteran, well-known Berkeley agitators were in on this from the beginning, and in their own publications spelled out their intentions, and these intentions had nothing to do with creating a sylvan glade for frisbie-tossing hedonists.

This point was missed of course on the late-late television broadcasts for which—as is the natural substance of journalism—the "news" of the Berkeley Crisis was not the reason behind the "People's Park" but the military occupation of the Athens of the West.

A major influencing force in its development is the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (BARU)—a coalition of Communist revolutionary forces, particularly of the Maoist variety.

The revolutionary organizations in Berkeley linked to "People's Park" activism in one way or another are many and no testimony has yet surfaced that they are all of a single mind, or of a single hand.

BARU, for example, is the Bay Area unit of what would be a Revolutionary Party. For now, it is the Revolutionary Union (RU).

Its membership is composed of members of the Red Guard—a Maoist force now organized in the Bay Area in at least two communities—as well as of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP, a pro-Mao Communist organization), the Communist-infiltrated Students for a Democratic Society (SDS, which on the West Coast reveals a Maoist bent), and other avowed Marxist-Leninists and Communists.

A major Revolutionary Union spokesman is Robert Avakian, Berkeley militant and Community for New Politics (CNP) candidate in the 1967 Berkeley city elections. The son of a district court judge, the young Avakian has described himself as a "revolutionary Communist."

Another major Revolutionary Union figure is Steve Hamilton, bounced from the UC campus in 1966, prominent in Stop the Draft Week activity, one-time head of the Medical Aid Committee (which gathered medicine for the Viet Cong), and seasoned campus agitator.

The Revolutionary Union is at least in partial cahoots with the campus Radical Student Union (RSU), which, in turn, has supported the aims and objectives of the Castroite-influenced "third world" movement.

An RSU flyer beating the drums for a May 6 meeting on campus (at which Avakian, among other, spoke), pointed to "in the streets (People's Parks)," "in the factories" and "in third world alliances" as answers to its own rhetorical question, "Where Do We Go from Here?"

We have previously described the Free Speech Movement (FSM) affiliations of "Park" boosters, and the at least peripheral involvement of the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth branch of the Trotskyist Communist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

And fugitive Black Panther (BPP) Party "minister" Eldridge Cleaver has surmised: "The only way we were going to get serious about a revolution was when we had something in the soil to defend. We have it—the 'People's Park,' and its avenging angels are everywhere."

BARU, RU, RSU, SDS, SWP, YSA, ISC, FSM, BPP, BFP — the letters twist and change, but they ultimately spell only one thing: revolution.

(CONTINUED TOMORROW)

Spurious Concepts, Philosophy In 'People's Park' Pottage



(Fourth in a series of columns on the "People's Park" controversy.)

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES involved in the Berkeley "People's Park" activity either planned, hoped for or must have known that one bad turn deserves another, and that enormous police intervention following on the heels of their own illegal act might very well provide them with the added "causes" they might need.

And of course, such a course of events has occurred.

The original issues are just as obscured now as was the original "cause" of last summer's Berkeley riots. How many recall that the triggering "issue" then was, of all things, a rally to support striking French students?

Now, of course, we have a slain martyr, physical injury, and the enormous rage and ire of an uninvolved populace which has sampled—DUE to the "People's Park"—what it is like to live in a police state. Of course they don't like it.

The usual "respectable radicals" are neatly galvanized around the new issues and causes as well, with Community for New Politics (CNP) types and the left liberal-radical Berkeley Coalition involved in propaganda. The Coalition and Women for Peace sought last week to unleash a boycott of Berkeley merchants, as if by doing this they could force out the National Guard. Fact of the matter is the existence of a police state was as damaging to merchants as any Left-engineered boycott could be.

Leafleting and pamphleteering began a week to turn this Friday into a mass "memorial day" for the slain James Rector. Implicit in the calls for thousands of youthful anarcho-radicals to converge on Berkeley were demands that the university remove the fence it put up around the "People's Park" or "we'll tear it down."

Despite the tremendous propaganda cranked out by Berkeley's interlocking radical organizations, and the ease with which apolitical aggrieved and angered citizens are apt to measure the situation in terms of their own discomfort due to outside policing, curfew and the like, the philosophical realities are these:

—Illegal, engineered, contrived incidents created the Police State in Berkeley. The propaganda assault on police and National Guard, even when in some cases it is justified, must not be allowed to take priority to that key, essential fact.

—There is the gravest kind of implication in letting "street people" or anyone else get away with the promotion of anarchy, however humanistically

it seems to be clothed in nice-sounding rationalizations.

"People's Parks" are not mere Berkeley creatures—they have sprung up at Penn State, Chico State and San Jose State. Co-ordination in their planning is implicit. They are not "spontaneous happenings" whatever their promoters would have their loyal dupes believe.

The concept that young, idealistic youth can march in and seize public or private property in the name of "the people" befits the Communist Chinese "Cultural Revolution" and its violent Red Guard. It befits the Hitler Youth of the 1930s, the Fidelista militia of the Cuban Revolution, and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) today.

The pre-conflict "People's Park" mental scene was a mixed bag of Marxism-Leninism, humanism, and hedonism.

We heard from both degreed and drop-out defenders of what "the people" were doing that there is a "community mentality" in the South Campus Area, a kind of folk-thought process, and that it somehow constitutes a consensus opinion of the "South Campus community."

The return to paleolithic human tribalism, whether in fact or concept, is a return to brute animalism. The concept of the "collective mentality" is a spurious — though at times deceptively alluring—one which obscures the only real spiritual fact about man: He is an individual, not the member of a commune or ant-hill.

South Campus is not a separate and distinct community, and many—but not all—the "life-styles and values" there so effusively trumpeted about by ivory-towered sociologists and Establishment-baiters, are simply the sum total of disorganized hedonism, frantic drop-outery, the misfiring of the "affluent society," the end result of permissiveness and license, the overdelight in physical bliss and bodily abuse through narcotics, a rich field for exploitation by organized crime, the spiritual sanctuary of escapists, and a well-fertilized garden in which to sow professional revolution.

"The Establishment" will not grow in wisdom and stature by brutally repressing espousers of such things, but neither will it help the progress of the species by yielding to the rationalizations of such "life-styles and values."

The name of the game, after all, remains one:

Human progress through relative freedom for all in a civilization underpinned by government by law; or human degeneracy and slavery in an individual-less society underpinned by totalitarian total government borne of the ashes of anarchy.

(Continued tomorrow)

(Final in a series of columns on the "People's Park" controversy)

THERE IS NO issue without good sides or broader spectra. So it is with the "People's Park" controversy.

In the area of good sides, one cannot overlook these verities which have surfaced above and beyond the dishonest propaganda thereto associated:

— The simple demand for more park and recreational areas. This is part and parcel of the overall Berkeley problem and while not the outstanding problem by any means, draws attention to a real need.

— Ironically, if it took mass arrests and some real brutality here to point up excessive and insalubrious conditions at the Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center, then a "good" has surfaced there, too. An American prison is not supposed to be a dungeon, and dissidents and demonstrators, no matter how fiercely we disagree with them, are still human and deserve to be treated as humans.

In the area of broader spectra, we find three of notable importance underscored by the present controversy:

— 1. How can major institutions, such as city government and universities located in urban areas, co-ordinate activities in expressing their "sensitivity" toward authentic realities and problems within the communities in which they both play a role? This problem is also part and parcel of the overall urban crisis of the United States.

It has been said in the Berkeley City Council that the UC Regents move "ponderously." True. So does the entire nine-campus complex. But so does practically any other massive institution. And frequently the City of Berkeley, small beans compared to the UC complex, is likewise "ponderous", or perhaps "mini-ponderous," in its approaches to complicated issues.

— 2. How can the university be "responsive" to the requests and demands of an ever-changing student populace? And should it really try to be? Can there really be more than a student "voice" in that catch-all "decision-making process"?

Chancellor Heyns pointed out this week that, in the fulfillment of just one student aspiration, the time lapse from Point A to Point B was seven years. Within this time span, an entire generation had graduated, another was well on the way to advanced degrees, and three others had started their university careers.

The university and the city remain. But the aspirations — and composition — of student populations change. Given this dilemma, just how CAN the university seem to be "responsive" and still maintain its administrative cool?

To what extent should representative government apply to a university community? This issue has come up time and again in the "trouble at Berkeley."

Do numbers make a government? Are students equal to faculty, faculty to administration, administration to regents? Is the university a popular democracy or what it usually has been in the United States — an extremely limited republic? This question should be faced and answered once and for all.

— 3. How can municipal institutions be "responsive" to the requests and demands of a changing and occasionally transient population?

This is a problem of unusual acuteness in Berkeley, the composition of whose population is swiftly changing, so much so that there is no single, typical cast which is "the average Berkeleyan."

Two of its many communities — namely, the transitory student population and the even more transitory "hip" population — by their very natures tend to be young and fluid, with little long-range interest in Berkeley per se. Yet they are citizens, and to an increasing amount, of voting age. Just what should the city's relationship to them be? Do we meet the problem by lowering the voting age?

There has been increasing radicalization among both youth and that general amorphous group we could call the "honest anarcho-radical hedonists." They have evinced increasing distrust of existing institutions and channels, but have come up with little in way of innovative thought with which to replace them. All too often, of course, they embrace headlong the concepts of the dishonest revolutionaries, who usually come up with the same snake-oil prescription: totalitarian dictatorship.

To what degree must the city as a whole take the feelings of some areas of youth and the "hip" set seriously? To what extent should it alter its administrative and political structure to accommodate new and changing ideas? Or should it?

Among other realities which have surfaced in the "People's Park" controversy here are these:

— The American press, like the American public, is simply not yet geared to deal with revolution. Nationwide, coverage of the Berkeley Crisis has been atrocious — not by design, not by intent, but by the nature of American journalism. Everyone of us in every one of the media need a thorough re-assessment of our roles as journalists if we are to provide a credible service to the public in times of disorganization and chaos.

— The Second American Revolution may be headed toward chaos and anarchy but it will be real dictatorship that carries the day. The one is as inherent to the other as mother's milk to a baby. Either the causes — honest and dishonest — which cause proto-revolution in our essentially free republic must be faced and solved, or we they will be "solved" by total dictatorship.

This, more than anything else, is the real lesson of Berkeley.

'An Outcry': Thoughts on Being Tear Gassed

Peter Barnes of Newsweek's San Francisco bureau covered last week's developments in the continuing struggle over the "People's Park" and wrote this personal report on the battle of Berkeley and its larger implications:

Last Tuesday, I was gassed twice in Berkeley. It hurt. The police and National Guard no longer bother with simple tear gas. They are using a chemical called CS—the kids call it pepper gas—that the Army uses in Vietnam. It not only stings the eyes but sets fire to the nose, mouth and throat, and made me, at least, feel groggy and mildly nauseated.

Many other people, of course, got hurt far worse than I did. They were clubbed and shot as well as gassed. One 25-year-old onlooker was killed by buckshot pellets the size of a marble. So this is not in the nature of a personal complaint; it is rather an outcry against what is happening in California, and by extension, what is happening to America.

In many ways, the violence of the past few days in Berkeley is more frightening than the violence that exploded in Chicago last August. In Chicago, as the Walker report concluded, the police erupted into a riot. But at least no one was killed, the national media told the story to the world and, among his critics and defenders alike, Mayor Daley was held responsible for the cops' behavior.

Brutality: In Berkeley, under cover of Governor Reagan's three-month-old "state of extreme emergency," police have also gone on a riot, displaying a lawless brutality equal to that of Chicago, along with weapons and techniques that even the authorities in Chicago did not dare employ: the firing of buckshot at fleeing crowds and unarmed bystanders, and the gassing—at times for no reason at all—of entire streets and portions of a college campus.

The Berkeley rioting could perhaps most accurately be described as an outbreak of class warfare between cops and students. To the cops, the young and shaggy-haired denizens of Berkeley have become "niggers," subject to clubbing and gassing for what they are, rather than for anything they might have done. To the students, most policemen have become "pigs," brutish representatives of a power structure so up tight it could not even cope with the spontaneous creation of a "People's Park." Few students

actually threw anything more dangerous than epithets, but a sizable number, goaded by gas and gunshot, were increasingly willing to be led into cat-and-mouse tactics of guerrilla provocation.

Unlike Chicago, the lines of political authority in Berkeley have been so confused that it has been almost impossible to affix direct responsibility for the violence—or, more important, to discover avenues for bringing it to an end. The mayor of Berkeley and the Berkeley police chief have had little control over the situation: the forces present have included Alameda County Sheriff deputies, the California Highway Patrol, the San Francisco Tactical Squad, the National Guard, and police from Oakland and other neighboring communities—none of whom is responsible to Berkeley authorities. Berkeley chancellor Roger Heyns, whose initial misjudgment turned the People's Park into a battleground, has lost control over the forces of "law and order" on his campus.

War Games: For seven days in May, the effective rulers of this occupied city and university were 3,000 unknown men in uniform, headed by two generals and a sheriff playing war games with real people's lives.

In the end, however, one man—Gov. Ronald Reagan—is responsible for what is happening. He is the only man who can stop it now and—in terms of the popularity he has gained from it for the moment—he is its only beneficiary. Far from the scene of his officers' violence, he has projected himself as the virtuous foe of an insidious clique of unruly rev-

olutionaries. Reagan's approach is far more sophisticated than Joe McCarthy's and, in my view, far more ominous: Joe McCarthy never controlled the National Guard, nor did he contribute to the polarization of our society with bloodshed.

The real danger in California is not the students, nor the tree-planting street people, nor even that handful of genuine revolutionaries that Reagan so piously condemns. It is the uncontrollable use of paramilitary force without responsibility; it is the helplessness of such representative institutions as the Berkeley City Council (whose meeting during the violence was a charade); it is the fearful reluctance of moderate public officials to speak out.

Tactics: No one denies that there is a group of revolutionaries in Berkeley and throughout the country who are determined to provoke confrontations. No one questions the fact that tens of thousands of American students feel alienated from society as they see it. But you do not diminish alienation or defeat a hard core of revolutionaries by gassing and clubbing and shooting indiscriminately.

Quite to the contrary, such a primitive response only plays into the revolutionaries' hands and takes attention away from specific issues that are negotiable and should be negotiated. The olive-drab National Guard helicopter that sprayed pepper gas over the campus may have cleared Sproul Plaza for twenty minutes, but it radicalized hundreds of nonrevolutionary, nonviolent students for far longer than that, and did little toward settling the controversy over the People's Park.

While the escalation of armed force undoubtedly benefited Reagan politically and gave some policemen and militant students a chance to prove their virility, it did no one else any good at all. What was called for in Berkeley—whatever the provocation—was not pepper gas, buckshot and bayonets, but reason, restraint, and as much good faith as possible.

Beyond the smoke and confusion of last week's tragic events in Berkeley are some broader questions. When youthful citizens can be wantonly gassed and beaten, all because of a small, unauthorized park, what has happened to America? What has happened to our sense of perspective, our tradition of tolerance, our view of armed force as a last—never a first—resort?



Battlelines: 'What has happened to America?'

Newsweek—Peter Barnes



Escalation at UC: Bloodied student

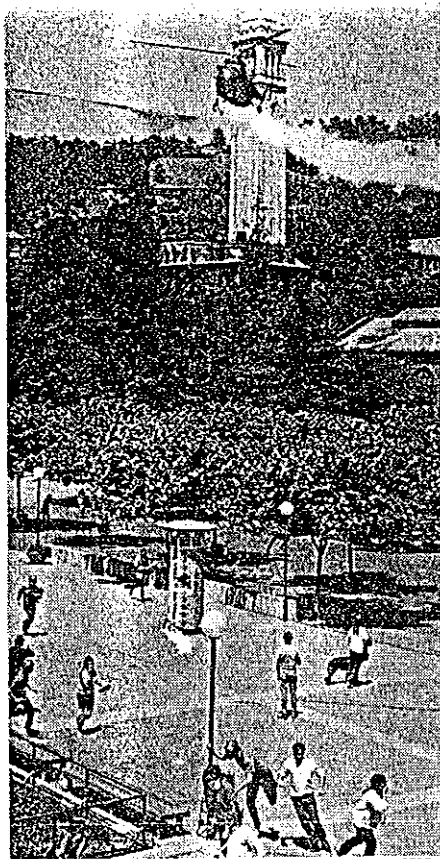
subsided, Berkeley was the scene of the first air attack ever launched against domestic disorder in the U.S.—a stinging, nauseating gas barrage laid down through the heart of the hillside campus by a National Guard helicopter.

The latest trouble in Berkeley began when students and other youths took to the streets a fortnight ago to protest the university's fencing off of a "People's Park" built by young people on a university-owned plot near the campus (NEWSWEEK, May 26). In one of the clashes between police and students that followed—and that prompted Gov. Ronald Reagan to send 2,000 guard troops into the area—police had opened fire with shotguns. James Rector, a 25-year-old carpenter from San Jose, was one of several dozen persons hit. Early last week, Rector died of his wounds.

Next day, a somber protest crowd of 3,000, many wearing black arm bands, gathered on campus and tried to march out onto the town's streets. Blocked by National Guardsmen, the protesters moved back on the campus and milled around Berkeley's large Sproul Plaza in small and seemingly peaceful groups.

Stinging Clouds: A tense hour passed. Then, National Guard troops wearing gas masks and carrying rifles with unsheathed bayonets sealed off the plaza area. Minutes later, an olive drab H-19 National Guard helicopter swooped down over the plaza and released a cloud of high-powered irritant gas called C.S. (for chlorobenzalmalononitrile). Gagging and vomiting, youths and faculty members caught outdoors by the stinging clouds of gas fled toward shelter. Those who sought to escape from the gassed area completely, however, were prevented from doing so by the gas-masked guardsmen. "I'll be perfectly honest and say that there were times when we wanted a confrontation," Art Goldberg, 27, a veteran of the 1964 Free Speech Movement who helped organize the People's Park demonstrations, told a reporter as both waited out the helicopter gas attack inside the student union. "But we didn't want an atrocity."

Brig. Gen. Bernard A. Nurre, 55, the



Airborne gas attack on campus

commander of the 49th Infantry Brigade on duty in Berkeley, had ordered the gas attack, and later defended it as necessary to protect his troops around Sproul Plaza. A police officer with the guardsmen, he said, had radioed of trouble. Maj. Seals B. Trammell, 36, guard commander in the plaza that day, agreed. "We ran into a confrontation," said Trammell. Newspaper racks and steel patio furniture were being hurled at his men, he said, and "if the gas hadn't been dropped, I believe it would have been necessary to employ small arms."

Skeptical: Trammell's account was at odds with the scene in the plaza reported by newsmen and other observers before the gas attack. In any case, even some guardsmen questioned the use of gas on people who were prevented from fleeing the gassed area. Some of the part-time soldiers, in fact, were plainly skeptical about their whole mission. One guard corporal standing duty in a long line of troops, who had been blocking the south side of the campus, suddenly threw down his helmet and dropped his gun. "I can't stand this any more," he shouted, "I've had enough." He was quickly hustled away by MP's, and a guard spokesman later said that he was suffering from fatigue. Guard troops openly fraternized with the students, contrary to orders; and on numerous occasions, individual guardsmen raised their fingers to flash friendly V signs to students.

Two hours after the gas attack, the guard troops were withdrawn from around the campus, the students swarmed out into Berkeley's streets and blue-clad Alameda sheriff's deputies



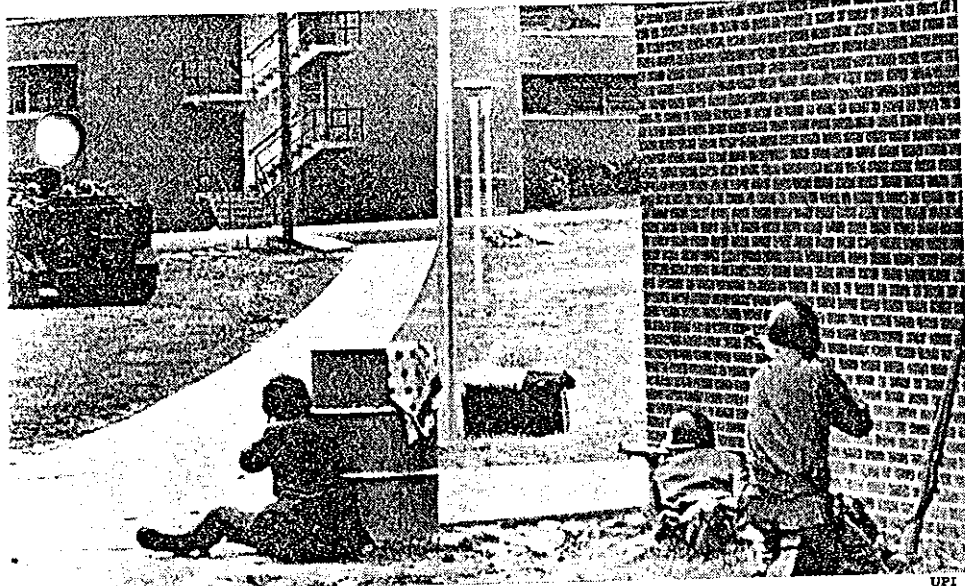
Fraternizing with the enemy

(nicknamed "Blue Meanies" by the students) and brown-uniformed Berkeley police began haphazardly, often brutally, harassing the youths. Intermittently, the yellow Alameda sheriff's van would pull up to a corner and police would herd a half dozen youths picked at random into the vehicle. Asked the purpose of the police action, a young Berkeley police officer who was directing a squad of club-swinging cops, shrugged: "I don't know. We're just arresting people." Many of the police did not bother with that formality, reported NEWSWEEK's Gerald Lubenow, but simply clubbed youths on the spot and then left them.

Control: Berkeley chancellor Roger W. Heyns indicated to a group of students that he opposed some of the police tactics, but he clearly had relinquished control of the situation when the guard and police entered the picture. No one, in fact, seemed to have over-all authority over the numerous law-enforcement units present, except, possibly, Governor Reagan. But when a faculty delegation went to Sacramento to try to persuade Reagan to withdraw the guard troops, the governor rehearsed the damage done on the campus in five years of disorders there and condemned the protesters while staunchly defending the law-enforcement forces. "Once the dogs of war are unleashed," said the governor, "you must expect things will happen, and people will make mistakes on both sides."

By the weekend, the turmoil had simmered down to largely symbolic actions on both sides. Several hundred faculty members boycotted classes. Some 500, mostly youthful protesters, marched through downtown Berkeley—and were arrested en masse. The People's Park remained fenced—and guarded by an encampment of National Guardsmen. But if anything, it had become an even more potent symbol of protest. Late in the week, a student referendum on the park was conducted. Nearly 15,000 students took part in the vote—or three times as many as had participated in any of Berkeley's countless referendums over the last decade—

(Continued on Page 38)



The war comes to Greensboro: Guardsmen return fire on Scott Hall

(Continued from Page 36)

and 12,719 were recorded in favor of the park. Declared University of California regent Fred Dutton, a onetime New Frontiersman and pre-Reagan appointee: "People should realize that the police may be winning the short-term battles, but what we're really doing is radicalizing a whole generation of students. In the long run of history, flowers are always going to win against fences and students are always going to win against old men."

The Siege of Greensboro

Nine years ago, in a past almost lost in memory, four students from mostly Negro Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina wandered up to a Jim Crow dime-store lunch counter in downtown Greensboro, began a spontaneous sit-in—and sparked a nonviolent black student revolt that spread like brushfire across the South. But the year of the sit-in has long since passed, and last week A&T was caught up in revolution of another, far more perilous sort—a bloody (one dead, seven wounded), 50-hour shooting war between black militants and police that ended only when National Guard troops, moving under air cover, pacified the sullen campus with tear gas and steel.

The trouble actually began far off campus at all-black Dudley High School, where a student militant was ruled ineligible for a school election and a wave of angry, rock-tossing demonstrations followed. When Greensboro police moved in with tear gas and billies, some of the demonstrators retreated to A&T, where they had been meeting regularly.

By nightfall, the rocks began flying at A&T, and as cops and National Guard militiamen finally moved on campus, they ran into rifle fire in the deepening darkness. Officers answering a report of a fire-bombing at the student union were

pinned down by sniper fire from Scott Hall, a sprawling, red-brick dormitory. Police fired back, and the battle was joined. In the city's command center, Mayor Jack Elam, 42, sworn in only nine days before, groaned, "It's just like guerrillas in Vietnam."

It was—and it got worse after 20-year-old honor student Willie Grimes was found asprawl in a clump of bushes, dead of a gunshot wound in the back of the head. Police insisted later that the bullet that killed him was .32 caliber or less—smaller than anything lawmen were using. But students blamed the cops. With tempers mounting through the next day, Elam clamped down an 8 p.m. curfew and A&T's president Lewis Dowdy closed the college—five days before the final-exam period. But at least half the 4,100 students stayed on campus—many of them stranded for want of carfare home—and the fighting escalated. Snipers took pot shots at police, and five fell wounded—one of them hit in the back and lung by a .45-caliber slug. A student was hit in the groin and was hustled off, bleeding, to a police car.

Rout: Finally, before dawn on the third day, police major E.R. Wynn stood in a deserted street in mid-campus, read a proclamation declaring a state of emergency—and then loosed police and guardsmen on the dormitories. "You got five minutes to get out of here," guardsmen told students. There was a spatter of gunfire from Scott Hall, and a sergeant in a squad of troops hedge-hopping toward it was wounded in the arm. The Guard returned fire. A plane and a helicopter swooped low over the campus and laid swirling clouds of tear gas over the dorms—a counterinsurgency technique tried on American civilians for the first time only three days before in Berkeley, Calif. The rout was complete. Students spilled from the dorms, some in pajamas or undershorts, some nude. Two hundred were hauled off briefly in "pro-

tective custody," and police collected nine rifles from the dorms. By long tradition, authorities blamed "outside agitators" (some non-students were spotted on campus), and the rebels blamed the "white power structure" for not heeding legitimate black demands. And now Greensboro and North Carolina A&T were landmarks again, and what neither side seemed sure of was how to put the pieces back together.

DETROIT:

The Algiers Motel Case

It was the third deadly night of the 1967 Detroit riots, and sporadic gunfire still crackled in the hot night air. Not far from the heart of the rioting, at the sleazy Algiers Motel, ten young blacks and two teen-aged white prostitutes whiled away the hours waiting for the siege to lift. To amuse the others, 17-year-old Carl Cooper pulled out a blank cartridge pistol and, burlesquing a police raid, fired off some shots. The shots had tragic reverberations. A block away a National Guardsman took the sound of the blanks for sniper fire and phoned for reinforcements. Police, National Guard and Army Reserve units began converging on the Algiers. And before the night was out, Cooper and two other Negro youths, Fred Temple, 18, and Aubrey Pollard, 19, lay dead of gunshot wounds on the motel floor.

At first, the events at the Algiers went all but unnoticed, overshadowed by Detroit's 40 other riot deaths. But The Detroit Free Press and The Detroit News dug into the story—and, last year, author John Hersey thrust it upon the nation's conscience with a best seller entitled "The Algiers Motel Incident." By now, the episode has come to symbolize the deadly gulf separating the white cop from the black community and, in the minds of many, has already convicted the lawmen



August and wife: Kill or be killed?

Paper Asks Takeover of People's Park

By STEVE DUSCHA
Gazette Staff Writer

The student newspaper at the University of California here yesterday called on students to "take back" People's Park on Saturday and said the fence around the land "must come down."

'Take People's Park'

(Continued from Page 1)

nity spirit, community need and community vision."

It said that the UC regents "may try to use violence to hold onto what they call their property."

"But that might not happen either. Perhaps our new city council will not collaborate with the landowners now."

THE PAPER urged its readers to attend last night's city council meeting and demand that the council members "show their faith

and determination to serve the people by calling for the university to open People's Park once again to user development and user control."

"We should take it back in the same spirit as it was first taken—with joy and spontaneity and dedication," the editorial continued.

"For two years our boycott of the park has stood witness to the blood that flowed there. It is time we honored that blood with action—we must take back the park."

"It's time we took back the park," the Daily Californian said in a front page editorial. "We don't intend to provoke any violence because we think it doesn't take any violence to pull down a fence."

"The fence itself is violence. It is like a fascist monument in the streets of a free city. It is an insult to a free people. It must come down," the editorial said.

SATURDAY is the second anniversary of the date when sometimes bloody rioting began after the university fenced in its land which had been taken over by a group of students and other south campus residents and turned into a park.

Yesterday afternoon the Daily Californian's five-man Senior Editorial Board, which wrote the editorial, appeared to back away somewhat from its original call to take down the fence.

"We are not necessarily advocating that the fence be taken down by force," the editors said. "We feel that there are a number of ways that it can be removed, some of them peaceful and legal."

DAVID DOZIER, the Daily Californian's editorial page editor, said the purpose of the editorial was "to raise the issue" of the park. "Whatever tactics that were discussed in the editorial were obviously tentative."

The editorial, titled "Let's Go Down and Take the Park—Again," said, "our force consists of our commu-

(Turn to Page 2, Col. 3)



Following a Sproul Plaza rally urging people to take an active role in opposing building on People's Park, Park Project workers planted two trees on park grounds.

Photo by Dick Wheeler

People's Park Building Opposed

By TERESA CHUH
Staff Writer

Speakers from People's Park Project urged nearly 200 people in Sproul Plaza yesterday to become aware of the issues surrounding People's Park and to take an active role in opposing University construction of an intramural sports facility on the land.

People's Park Project, which serves as an umbrella organization for all "pro-Park" forces, sponsored the noon rally as a prelude to a larger rally scheduled for this Sunday at the park.

Kevin Axelrad of the Berkeley People's Bicentennial Committee spoke about the significance of the park as an historical landmark.

"The park symbolizes the spirit of liberty and self-determination sparked by the Constitution," he said. "It is a living symbol of the community's resistance to tyranny."

Ira Kulkin, a University administrative assistant and project worker, spoke briefly on the history of the park and the University Intramural Department's plans to erect a sports facility on the property.

Kulkin talked about the issue of the recent survey designed to poll student reaction to building on the park.

"People were asked to vote blindly," he said. "Many of the people who voted were too young to be aware of what happened to the park in the 60's and what the park means to the community in terms of open space."

Kulkin urged people to become aware by visiting the park, observing and participating in its upkeep, and by opposing any at-

tempt to build on it.

"It is unfair for people to decide an issue which they are not educated about," he said.

Following the rally, Park Project workers led a group of about 25 people to People's Park where they planted a Washingtonia Robusta palm to commemorate Washington's birthday, and a California Redwood that was donated to the group by a member of the Berkeley Regional Parks District.

During an open forum at the Sproul rally, several students and community members were invited up to the microphone to express their feelings about the park.

David Linn, an undergraduate in English, said that "if they ever start coming into the park with bulldozers, I will sit there until they either arrest me or run me over."

Al Verdad, another speaker who had been active during the 1969 People's Park demonstrations, urged the crowd to "stop letting other people make decisions for us and reassert the power of the people."

One speaker, who wished to remain anonymous, said that "trees are the niggers of the world because people spit, shit and piss on them more than anything else," and urged everyone to take part in the ongoing gardening project at the park.

David Axelrod, project spokesman, explained that community garden workshops are held twice weekly at the park, and that the project is designed to maintain and eventually develop the east section of the park into a full California native plant botanical garden.

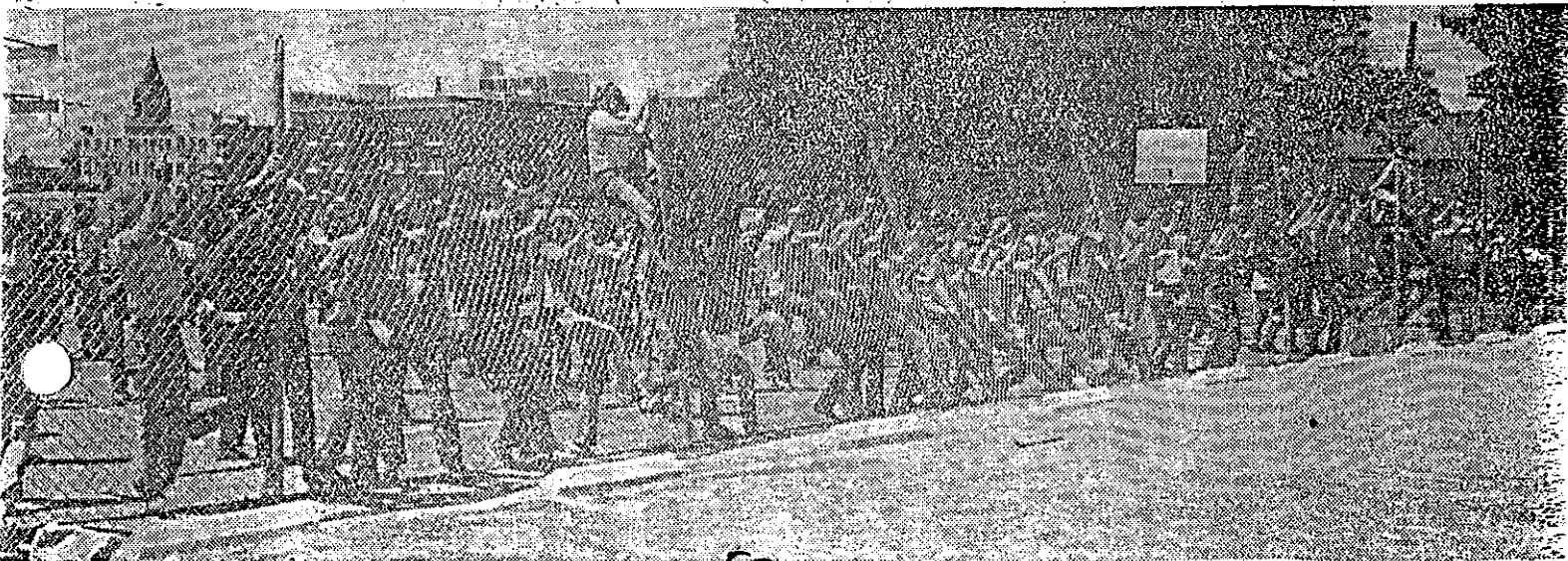
Berkeley Rioters Attack 'People's Park' Site



TEARING UP PARKING LOT—Antiwar rioters tear up the asphalt parking lot on University of California land known to the counterculture as "People's Park." Many of the rioters used asphalt chunks as weapons against

police and windows during Tuesday rioting. In photo below, demonstrators tear down what remained of fence surrounding the parking lot.

—Gazette Photos by Si Baile



Growing Your Own At People's Park

By MIKE SCHNEIDER

Staff Writer

Jerry Moreno couldn't find work in Eureka, so he came to Berkeley. He hasn't found a job here, either, but he doesn't like to be idle. When he saw some people gardening a plot of land in the middle of the city he asked if he could help. He was given a hoe and he started to pull weeds out of the ground.

Betsy Johnson, a gap-toothed woman in her 60's, wanted to grow her own food. But Johnson lived in an apartment house and didn't have any land, so she came to the garden last March and planted peas and barley. She harvested her crops in September.

On a sunny Sunday in February, Moreno, Johnson and a handful of others — maybe 20 in all — came to the garden on People's Park to work. Another 30 persons lay on the grass next to the garden or played with Frisbees and soccer balls.

These people may not be able to work and play on the park much longer.

Botanical Garden

The University, which owns the land the garden is on, is considering building a gymnasium on the park, located east of Telegraph Avenue between Haste Street and Dwight Way. The park now contains a small parking lot, a few tall trees, an open grass area and the People's Park botanical garden.

University Vice Chancellor Robert Kerley said he had "no qualms" about either building on the garden side of the park or on the parking lot and grassy area.

In May, 1969, several days of rioting began after the University fenced off the vacant lot where transients and residents gardened and gathered together. The University had wanted to pave the land for a parking lot.

Bloody History

In the chaos of National Guardsmen, demonstrations, and tear gas involved with the rioting, one man was killed, another blinded and several others wounded.

Until this year, referendums showed more than 90 per cent of University students opposed to building on People's Park.

But a survey taken a few weeks ago showed only 49 per cent of students now oppose building on the land.

Future Uncertain

It is uncertain whether the gymnasium will ever be built, because of a shortage of money. In the meantime, people once again work at the park, which was turned into a garden even though the University paved the land after the riots.

Members of the park project, which started in 1974, work each Wednesday, Friday and Sunday to make a garden of native California plants on the east side of the park.

David Axelrod, founder of the project, said he got the idea of starting a botanical garden on the park from a garden which he used to pass on the way to classes.

"It was one of the most beautiful gardens I had ever seen," he said. "An old woman in her 80s maintained it on land next to her house, which she didn't even own."

Human Potential

But Axelrod said the woman began to have fainting spells and moved to a rest home. Her garden gradually died.

"Nevertheless," Axelrod said, "I saw what somebody could do without institutions and bureaucracies" and began to renovate the garden at the park.

A plan of the garden, designed by the project, includes areas for chaparral, deciduous firs, evergreens and redwoods, to name a few. Many of these sections look barren because the trees are new, but project members say the park's appearance has improved greatly in the past year.

Axelrod said the lot used to be bare, except for the central grove of trees "and a few scrawny plants." Now the University waters the grass and lets the project use water for the garden.

The University has even donated some



Many people have small garden plots in People's Park.

Photo by Dick Wheeler

of it."

Johnson said the grass grows into wheels and can be baked into bread, but Axelrod said B'Nei eats it straight from the ground.

He tore a handful of grass out of the garden and ate a few strands, as if to illustrate.

He said there are many more traditions: crops grown on the park, such as berries and vegetables, but most of the land is taken up by the botanical garden.

Nevertheless, he said, "Anyone who comes to the park hungry can get fed."

"There is always some unharvested food in the beds, and nobody really owns the land," he added.

tools to the project, but Axelrod said most of the tools and plants have been donated by people who work at the park.

Axelrod said a few people care for small beds of land and grow vegetables on them, as Johnson did. She abandoned her plot when she moved to Washington for a few months, but may work on another one. Someone tends her old plot now and grows broccoli, tomatoes, lettuce and Brussels sprouts.

One bed, especially well-cared for, contains bright wheatgrass and a few fruit trees, and is enclosed by a two-foot high picket fence. Axelrod said a man named B'Nei cares for it and "lives pretty well off

After 9 years, let's end the People's Park hassle

We think the ASUC's proposal to buy People's Park from the University of California is a good one. The plan might finally lay to rest the brouhaha surrounding the park that has brought about scores of demonstrations and last stands, hundreds of arrests, one death, one blinding, and countless manifestos claiming that "the people" would never give up the place.

Under the plan as proposed last week by ASUC President Neil Taxy and Administrative Vice President Jeff Bornstein, the ASUC would buy the two-and-a-half acre lot between Haste and Dwight and Telegraph and Bowditch for \$800,000. It would also spend about \$176,000 to fix up the run-down park.

Although the terms of the proposal might chance change as negotiations progress, the student government would raise the money two ways, according to the present proposal. First, it would borrow \$400,000 from the city of Berkeley. The ASUC would repay the money over the next 15 years or so by charging a \$1 a day for parking in the lot on the east end of the park. (Parking is free there now.)

Second, the ASUC would ask students to pay a small fee, up to 50 cents per quarter, under present plans, along with the \$12.50 quarterly fee for student activities. In order for the ASUC to charge this fee, a majority of students would have to approve the plan.

We're puzzled, though, by the figure \$800,000. ASUC officials say the University will ask only that much for People's Park. If that indeed is the price, then the ASUC would be getting a bargain and the University would be getting gypped. U. C. paid \$1.3 million for the property 10 years ago, and property prices in Berkeley have soared since then; the plot might cost \$2 million, or more, now. From whom did the ASUC get that figure? We hope the University doesn't lose \$1 million it could use by undercharging for the park.

If the ASUC and the regents could indeed agree on a fair price, we would urge students to vote in favor of the ballot measure requiring students to pay the fee each quarter--50 cents every three months would be a small amount to pay to resolve the issue of People's Park. We would also urge the regents to approve the sale and the Berkeley City Council to vote to lend the ASUC some money. The money might come out of the fund set aside for Measure Y, which was passed by Berkeley voters in 1974 to set up new parks and playgrounds in the city and to renovate others.

We hope we're witnessing the last chapter in the People's Park Story--a kind of soap opera set in Berkeley that's run for nine years.

It all started in the late 1960s when the University bought the almost one-square block property and destroyed the brown shingle houses on it. The regents wanted to build a sports field and then houses for students there, but left it a vacant lot in the meantime.

An ad appeared in an April 1969 Berkeley Barb inviting people to spend a Saturday cleaning the park. Hundreds showed up. Over the next several weeks, Berkeley residents, in a remarkable outpouring of community pride, built swings, slides and benches, laid sod and planted gardens.

But the University reclaimed the park. Riot police entered the park in the wee hours of May 15, roused those sleeping there and guarded workers who put up a chain-link fence around the land. Thousands of students marched to the park that noon. The demonstration quickly turned into a riot, and police used shotguns to break up crowds. James Rector was killed as he looked down from a building at the corner of Telegraph and Dwight. About 110 people were injured that day.

The riots lasted another two weeks. In the end, the University put up another fence and built a basketball court and parking lot. For several years, though, Berkeley residents boycotted them to protest the University's intransigence.

Between 1969 and 1972, there were at least another half-dozen riots at the park. Every time demonstrators took to the streets in Berkeley about some grievance, whether connected to the park or not, they invariably ended up back at People's Park--and then were chased away by police.

Over the years, every proposal by the city to buy the park or by the University to build something on it has fallen through. Neglected and left to the street people as a daytime resting place, the park nowadays is not a pleasant place to pass the time. It's usually very muddy and strewn with garbage.

We hope that if the ASUC buys the land it will spend the money to restore People's Park to what it once was. If the park is to be, as some have said, a tribute to the Berkeley protest movement and to James Rector, then the place should be fixed up and attended to. To buy the land and then not beautify it would be a final insult to those memories.

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Florentine fountains ^{de} 21-77

People's Park: *relic and reminder*

By PETER KERR
Staff Writer

Last Friday a column entitled "Let's not sentimentalize about People's Park" by John Mintz appeared on this page. While Mintz's arguments were rational and factual, his tone was extremely disturbing.

Yes, it was a sordid mess, the riots of May 1969. This town overflowed with blood, blindness, and at times just plain stupidity.

Today one is tempted to dismiss People's Park as simply a vacant lot, symbolic of nothing more than a dream that died a still birth. Let's not "sentimentalize", Mintz would say, let's not "romanticize". Such an attitude, I believe, is all too cold, and very wrong.

The City of Florence maintains aged fountains in its plazas. Each generation passes by them. In London, the facades of houses, some dating back four

centuries, may not be altered without special government permission. And in Boston, rows of buildings from the early 1800's still surround the original colonial Commons.

On the face of it, there seems to be little reason for those and other cities to hold on to such relics. The past is gone, and we, after all, live in the present.

Yet the people of those cities have something most Californians severely lack — a local past that is theirs, a tradition that they may in some way carry on.

The City of Berkeley is somewhat different from San Leandro and San Jose. We have a coffee house where a poet scribbled out the words to "Howl", and we have a patch of land where our citizens were bloodied in the childish hope of creating a more humane world.

Let us not fear "sentimentality" if we choose to embrace what little past is ours.

Editorial

PETER KERR
Editorial Page Editor

THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN
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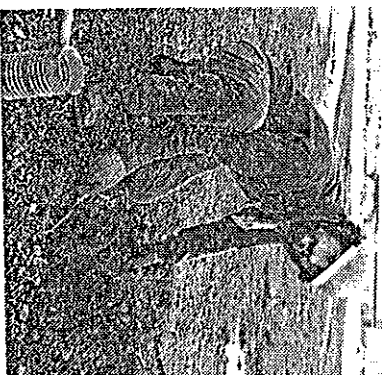
Opinion

Peoples Park: Preserving the garden

By DAVID FOGARTY
and FERRIL ARA SAEED
ASUC Municipal Lobby

People's Park is a place students usually avoid in 1977. The strip of land between Dwight and Haste avenues is half muddy parking lot and half grassy dog run. To many students People's Park seems like a place reserved for rip-offs and winos.

But there is a rich historical legacy attached to this shabby land, a legacy that, we fear, may be lost.



Back in 1967, the university purchased the land between Dwight and Haste for 1.3 million dollars to build new married student housing.

Between late 1967 and May 1969, the university allowed the land to remain unused. South campus residents working at night and on weekends planted sod, flowers, and shrubs. They built a small recreation area during that time for children.

People's Park had actually become a park created by and for the community. Chancellor Roger Heyns remarked that he

"saw no reason why the land could not be enjoyed until the university began construction."

In April 1969, the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Student Housing and Environment recommended that the lot be turned over to the community in order to "take pressure off a tense and crowded situation in the South Campus area."

Chancellor Heyns reacted to the growing demand for community use of People's Park with his customary overkill. In the dawn hours of May 15, 1969, Heyns ordered the construction of an eight foot cyclone fence around People's Park to keep people from entering university property.

The campus administration rebuffed an attempt by a team of community negotiators to discuss alternate plans for the park. At a Sproul rally later that day, 3,000 demonstrators decided to march on People's Park. Heading down Telegraph Avenue they clashed with police. Sixty-seven people were injured, one man was blinded, and another, James Rector, was killed.

The Battle of People's Park was part of two weeks of protest and demonstrations that culminated on May 30 with a peaceful, festive march of 25,000 people.

The University's fence remained around People's Park until 1972, but construction of married student housing never began. People's Park had become a symbol of large, unresponsive institutions, and attempts by people to make them respond, if need be, with their bodies.

For the past five years, the university has considered and then abandoned several development options for People's Park, including plans to lease the land to the City of Berkeley, to create an Environmental Design Station, and to build an intramural facility.

Currently, the university has no plans for

People's Park. The chancellor has said that he will avoid the issue of People's Park for at least five more years.

The ASUC Municipal Lobby — an organization that represents students in city, county and regional government, and works with the UC administration on local issues — opposes the university's position on the park.



People's Park in its present state is no more than a blemish on the community. Ten years have passed since the University purchased the land. In those ten years the students and community have proved their commitment and need for a park of their own.

Now is the time to develop People's Park as an aesthetically pleasing memorial to student activists of the 1960's. We want to preserve the spirit of those activists, and create open and usable park space in the South Campus area.

More than 11,000 people in the South Campus area have only one 2 acre park for recreation. The State of California recommends that a city should provide a total of 10 acres of park area for each 1,000 residents. The overdeveloped and over-

crowded South Campus area has only .2 acres per 1,000 population, one fifth of the amount of open space the State recommends.

Also, students in the 1970's can learn valuable lessons from their 1960's predecessors. Student activists of the last decade recognized that they were citizens of a community larger than the campus. They made a difference in university, local, national and international issues. We may not agree with all of their tactics, but the fact remains that they changed the character of national debate.

It is our responsibility as students to remember and commemorate their ideals.

There will be a meeting to discuss the future of People's Park and educational activities on student activism of the 1960's at noon today in East Madrone Room of the Student Union.



People's Park anniversary Ap 13 79

Disparate groups stage celebration

By BARRY TOMS

Tomorrow from noon to dark People's Park will be the scene of a concert and other activities marking the 10th anniversary of the park.

Music will be provided by the local Berkeley group Natives, and by Oakum, East Bay Mud, Steve Hayton, and the People's Park Native Plants Band, whose members farm and have planted trees and shrubs in the eastern part of the park.

The gathering was originally scheduled for last Saturday, but was postponed so it would not draw people away from the anti-nuclear demonstration in San Francisco, which was also held that day, according to organizer Howard Cooper.

Other events scheduled for tomorrow include planting trees, bushes and shrubs, exhibiting alternative energy sources (organizers note that the microphones used will be powered by the sun), and poetry readings. The anti-nuclear drama group, Plutonium Players will perform, and after dark, movies of the 1969 riots that brought national notoriety to People's Park will be shown.

The day's program, entitled "A Second Coming," will mark completion of the People's Stage at the park, built by volunteers from recycled and donated lumber, and also commemorate the fifth anniversary of the People's Park Project, which meets Sundays at 1 p.m. to encourage further planting in the park.

Located just east of Telegraph Avenue between Dwight Way and Haste Street, People's Park is divided into two areas. The eastern part, bounded by Bowditch Street, is planted with trees, shrubs and bushes. The rest of the park is



Photo by Peter Haley

Seven years ago students fought police over People's Park. Tomorrow the mood will probably be different during the tenth year celebration of the park.

open space.

The park is owned by the university, but is available for use by interested groups. Apparently, the relations between the university and these interested groups are quite a bit better now than in 1969, when police and demonstrators clashed in bloody fighting at the site. According to

one organizer for tomorrow's events, "When the people at UC heard what we had planned for tomorrow, they had the grass cut and hauled away the trash."

Organizations co-sponsoring the festivities include the People's Park Project, People's Park Council, the Berkeley Free Clinic and SUPERB.



Continued from cover
to kill and the other side ready to die?

The site of People's Park had originally housed fine old Berkeley shingle homes: cheap rent for grad students, profs, South Campus politicians and artists. In June of 1968, however, the University, pressured by the U.C. Regents and State legislators to "take some action against non-student activists in the area," engineered a mass eviction, bulldozing the homes, displacing 129 people. A vacant lot remained. It became a dumpsite.

"When land is vacant, we must raise the issue. We must put it to use as a park, a baseball diamond, anything but a lot with a path across it," argued Chuck Herrick, a bearded ex-soldier who had become a founder of new group with a strange name: Ecology (whatever that was) Action.

Berkeley students and street people had already fought battles for the control of the streets. Following the first big street fight in June 1968, the Barb's editor emeritus, Max Scherr, tried to explain the new developments to the City Council. A feeling of "territoriality" had

developed among the street people, Max argued. "it is important that people have some feeling that they actually have some control over part of their lives," he said.

The Park was to become the living test of that need. Like Robin Hood's Park Commissioner said: "Nobody supervises and the trip belongs to whoever dreams."

The dreamers came out that Sunday afternoon ten years ago. Many came out of curiosity. Some out of a cynical desire to see another high-blown Berkeley experiment flame out. The last thing we expected to see ... we saw. A bloomin' miracle!

There was a bulldozer ripping the hardpan. Truckloads of rolled sod, shovels, picks, rakes, hoes — an arsenal of free tools! The grass went down between those trees and suddenly the damned old dust-choked vacant lot became, in one magical afternoon's time, a sweetly cool, hauntingly peaceful branch office of Eden.

"My God! Look what we've done!" was the look in every eye. "We created a Paradise with our own hands." No

Continued on page 12

'Bloody Thursday' recalled

By TOM ABATE
STAFF WRITER

Ten years ago yesterday, on the day some called Bloody Thursday, 3,000 people fought a day-long battle with police over the piece of land that became People's Park. Yesterday, a noon rally on Sproul Plaza and an evening candlelight vigil commemorated the incident and 25-year-old James Rector's death that day.

The park, which borders on Bowditch Street between Haste and Dwight, emerged as the quintessential symbol of Berkeley during the 1960s' protests. Yesterday, a parade of speakers engaged in a bit of '60s nostalgia, but the emphasis was on calls for new activism in the 1980s.

Former student body president Dan Siegel was on hand, breathing fire and preaching revolution, just as he did ten years ago, when he told a crowd of 3,000 people in Sproul Plaza "that we could go out and take that park."

Siegel, now a labor lawyer in Oakland, said the reason students had poured into the street on Bloody Thursday was because "while we were members of this university community we were second-class citizens" who were not consulted on decisions such as use of People's Park.

Not much has changed since the 1960's, Siegel said, and the gains that have been made, such as in affirmative action programs, are now in danger of being rolled back.

"Let's not reminisce," Siegel said. "Let's go out and take action today."

Landscape architect John Reed, who collected the tools and the sod for the planting of the park ten

years ago, recalled that people at the time were fed up with the government's attitude toward the Vietnam War.

"We looked for a means to dramatize our convictions which could not be ignored. We found that means in the revolutionary act of seizing" People's Park, he said.

Dressed in a tan suit, his hair flecked with grey, Reed hardly looked the part of the revolutionary yesterday as he predicted that "the 80's, my friends, will be wild and joyous."

There is, Reed warned, a new enemy, called "bureaucratic decision making," which "obscures the issues, withholds information, deals in half-truths and resists change."

"The battle will be fought by all of us on a million fronts," he said. "The battlefield is anywhere you come upon bureaucratic bullshit — the classroom, the job, even the home."

Dave Axelrod of the People's Park Forum issued a list of nine "imperatives" which basically ask the university to give up all claim to People's Park, something the administration is not likely to do.

"People's Park is a state of mind," Axelrod explained as he finished reading the list of imperatives, the last of which was a general exhortation to "love your neighbor and yourself."

Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport was on hand to add his voice and political power to the voices of those who would like to keep People's Park the way it is.

Newport said People's Park represented the "tremendous popular spirit" of Berkeley and pledged that "those of us in city hall will

do what we can to nurture this energy and spirit."

That pledge will undoubtedly be seconded by Newport's political ally Veronika Fukson, who was one of those arrested in the park protests ten years ago and today sits on the Berkeley City Council. "Obviously, that park is

see back page

People want the park

More than 100 attend meeting on future of People's Park; most want to keep the site open

By Trapper Byrne, Staff Writer

There were four "options" for the future of People's Park, but to the vast majority of the 100 or so people crowded into the First Congregational Church's meeting hall, there was only one choice: Keep the park a park.

Some residents of the hills above People's Park and a smattering of UC-Berkeley undergraduates spoke for some development on the 2.8-acre parcel, preferably student housing. But at Thursday night's meeting they were easily outnumbered by park supporters, and as meeting moderator Paul Baum said afterwards, "I don't think we missed anyone."

By the end of the 2½-hour affair those assembled had voted to narrow the options to one — keeping the park as open space, to be sold either to the city or a community group — and begin working toward a plan that would satisfy the university.

Among those who asked the university to sell or even give People's Park to the community included City Councilman John Denton and former City Councilwoman Florence McDonald, UC-Berkeley student body president Cathy Campbell, neighborhood activist Barry Wofsy and a host of other city and student officials and longtime supporters of the park.

Rent Board member John Brauer summarized the feelings of many when he said that if UC turned the park over to the city, it would signal a "recognition that the university is part of the Berkeley community rather than Berkeley being part of the university."

Reacting to the option of putting a cafe or student housing on the site, writer Charles Sawyer told the meeting that "the university area already has too many cappuccino parlors, too much student housing and too much university architecture."

It would be better for the city and "ethically better for the university" for UC to donate the land, Sawyer said.

Along the same vein, park supporter Clifford Fred noted that "the university generally takes from us, and it

would be nice to see the university give something for once."

In the face of the strong support for the park, Jim Terzian's was a comparatively lonely and unpopular voice. The UC-Berkeley Interfraternity Council president noted that many students live in the area of People's Park, and said that those looking for housing "have a specific use for this land."

Dorothy Eaton of the Council of Neighborhood Associations and a resident of Panoramic Way, called for student housing or some other development on the site. She said that because the state's taxpayers paid for the park acquisition in the mid-'60s by virtue of UC's condemnation of the houses on the parcel, something should be done to recoup the money.

Nevertheless, when the remaining members of the audience were polled at the end of the meeting, 46 favored keeping the park open; eight favored turning two-thirds of the site into an athletic field; two voted for developing half for mixed use, including housing and retail shops; and one voted for turning part of the site into a community center and cafe.

As a result, the next large public meeting on the park — which will likely be held sometime next month — will focus on developing a plan under which the city or a community group, such as the non-profit Land Conservancy for People's Park, can take over the land.

Financing the park acquisition will be a problem for anyone wishing to take control of the site, but writer Art Goldberg and City Councilman Denton said the university's tab for city fire-fighting services — which approaches \$150,000 annually, Goldberg said — could continue to be provided free by the city in exchange for the university deeding title of People's Park to Berkeley.

Goldberg said that with the UC Board of Regents' new, liberal leadership, such a proposal "would probably be seriously considered."

It's unclear what UC's asking price on the park will be. If sold to the city the price might be less than the market value, but if sold to a private group — such as the Land Conservancy — then by law it must be offered by closed, competitive bidding, said campus planning coordinator Dorothy Walker.

Past estimates of the park's market value have been around \$2 million, but Joe Zahner, owner of Larry Blake's Rathskellar and head of the Sather Gate Merchants Association, said the value was closer to \$3 million.

Zahner said he doubted whether the Land Conservancy could raise the cash, but added that the group probably wouldn't have much competition in bidding for the park anyway.

"I don't think a private group would want to touch it with a 10-foot pole," Zahner said. "They'd be buying themselves a lot of trouble."



Dorothy Walker

People's Park to Stay A Park

By Glenda Chui

After 14 years of confrontations, demonstrations, tear gas and takeovers, a solution is near for one of Berkeley's thorniest questions — what to do with People's Park.

A committee representing various community groups has been meeting for more than a year to decide the future of the 2.8-acre political battleground.

After considering a list of options, including student dormitories, shops, cafes, playing fields, a community center and a peace garden, the committee decided last week that the park should stay a park.

The committee will decide next month who should own the park — the City of Berkeley or a land conservancy — and how it will be acquired from the University of California, which now holds the deed.

The final plan must be approved by the city, the university, and half a dozen community organizations.

David Axelrod, 35, unofficial caretaker of the park, called the committee's decision last week a "momentous event."

"It's the first time the university has been willing to admit that the community wants this as a park," he said. "And it's the first time they've been willing to work within that framework."

The park, between Dwight Way and Bowditch and Haste streets above Telegraph Avenue in downtown Berkeley, is a scruffy combination of gardens, ripped-up asphalt, lawn and 1960s nostalgia.

It is maintained by a group of volunteers that calls itself the People's Park Project/Native Plant Forum.

Over the past 10 years — often against the wishes of the university — the volunteers have developed a botanical garden of native plants at the east end of the park, set up a stage in the middle and torn up most of the asphalt paving, which has been used to line flower beds.

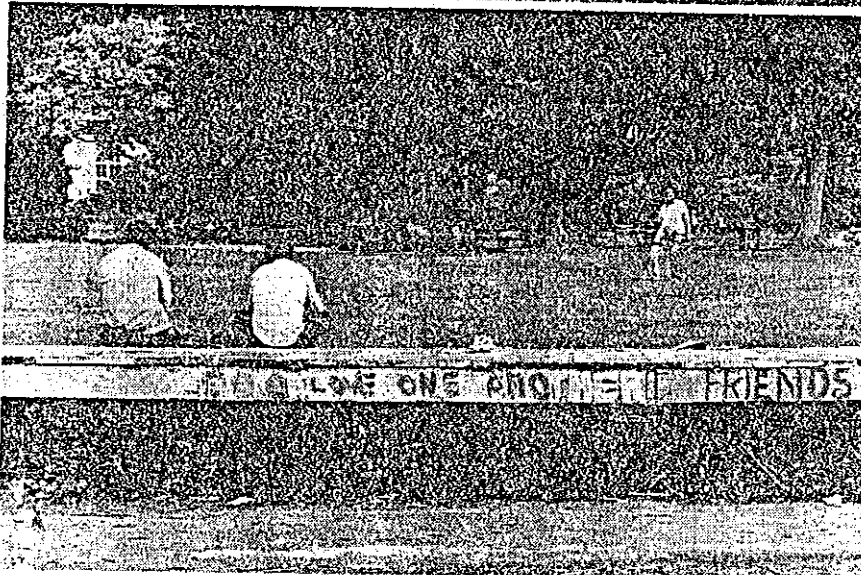
The only facilities at the park are chemical toilets and a few wooden benches. There is a giveaway for cast-off clothing, and among bushes and trees are beer cans, old shoes and pieces of cardboard used as bedding by transients.

Garbage cans are painted with psychedelic colors and slogans showing the 1960s origins of the People's Park controversy — one says, "Make love, not war." Around the edge of the stage is painted,



Photos by Susan Gilbert

David Axelrod (left), David Blackman and Charly T. Starr planted tree (above) near graffiti reading 'Love one another' (left)



in," said Michael Rossman, 43, who was tear-gassed and sprayed with buckshot during the 1969 demonstrations.

"You go there today, and walk across that piece of ground, and it looks like nothing is happening," he said. "But enormous forces are balanced on it. That tension is still alive, and it determines the entire political character of the town."

The park has a number of meanings, said Nancy Skinner of the Land Trust for People's Park.

"It's partially an expression to (the townspeople) that it's their community and not the university's," she said. "For others, it's a monument to the battles that happened there over time — symbolic of the peace movement and the free speech movement and other movements over the years."

"Smash the state ... Love one another ... Friends."

Axelrod, who works full time as a ranger for East Bay Regional Parks, spends much of his spare time at the park picking up litter, watering, planting trees and organizing free concerts, like one Saturday in memory of bookstore owner Fred Cody.

"I don't have to make excuses for the fact that there's a lot of work to be done here, pruning and weeding," he said.

What the park desperately needs are restrooms and a professional staff "to guarantee health and safety and cleanliness. And we need guarantees that this is a park, so we don't have politics breathing down our neck."

Politics have been an inseparable part of the park property since

the university bought it in 1967 and tore down the houses that stood there to make way for an intramural playing field.

One Sunday in the spring of 1969, several hundred people showed up at the lot to clear away the rubble and plant a park. A month later, the university put up no-trespassing signs. The struggle for control, fueled by the political polarization of the era, was on.

In the bloody demonstrations that followed, one person was killed, another was blinded and hundreds were injured. Two thousand National Guard troops were called out by Governor Ronald Reagan. Berkeley was put under a state of martial law for three weeks, and military helicopters sprayed tear gas over the UC campus. Six hundred people were arrested.

When it ended, the park was

surrounded by a cyclone fence and the university appeared to have won. But the fence was torn down in 1971, in a protest spawned by President Nixon's bombing of Haiphong harbor, and the park has remained open ever since.

Even today, the park has tremendous symbolic value.

"There was a time when thousands of people would risk their lives to keep it from getting fenced

People's Park could become a true park

By ELEANOR EDWARDS
I-G Staff Writer

People's Park, the violent scene of revolt in the 1960s, could soon become a true park under a proposal spearheaded by University of California students and under discussion by officials of the university and the city.

The idea is this: UC students and the City of Berkeley would jointly purchase the square-block property at Dwight Way and Bowditch Avenue, and the city, after consultation with the people of Berkeley, would develop the land as a park.

To pay for their share of the purchase cost, UC students would pay a nominal fee for a specified number of years. The asphalt parking area now on the land would be developed into a parking lot, with revenues going to help pay for the land and maintain the park.

When the students' share of the purchase price had been paid, the students would deed their interest in

the park over to the city.

Representatives of the university, the city and ASUC (Associated Students of the University of California) will meet Thursday to discuss the proposal, and ASUC vice president Jeff Bornstein said yesterday, "We've gotten good responses from everyone on it. Everyone feels this is a workable proposal, and while we've got things to iron out everyone agrees we can work them out."

ASUC president Neil Taxy and Bornstein made their initial proposal to university and city officials in October, and several meetings have been held since then on the idea.

The first public notice of the proposal occurred last night when Bornstein presented it to a joint meeting of the city's recreation and planning commissions which voted to support the proposal as "worthy of further consideration" and "valu-

(Turn to page 4, col. 5)

PARK

(Continued from Page 1)

able on all levels — historically, recreationally and financially."

Bornstein said the present market value of People's Park, originally bought and cleared by the university for student housing, is unknown but the "unofficial figure being thrown around the university" is \$800,000.

Under the ASUC proposal, the \$800,000 cost would be split between the students and the city. Bornstein said preliminary plans call for UC students to vote in late March or early April on a 50-cent per student per quarter fee to cover the students' share of the purchase.

Besides its share of the acquisition, the city would also pay \$176,000 to develop the park, including \$67,000 for the parking lot.

Bornstein suggested to the recreation and planning commissions that part of the city's cost could come from Measure Y recreation funds (see related story, page 4).

In the past the city has offered to develop the land into a park if the university would donate the land to the city or lease it for \$1 per year.

But the Regents have argued that as trustees of the taxpayers they are responsible for getting a return on their investment, estimated by Bornstein to have been \$1.2 million.

"What we've tried to do in the fiscal part is take out all the 'politicalness' of it," he said last night. "The only reason we're having a parking lot there is to make sure the funds are there."

"We feel very strongly this is so much a part of Berkeley that we think it's fitting that the students and the university and the city work together on this," Bornstein told the two commissions.

ASUC estimated about \$20,000 in surplus funds would be generated yearly by the parking lot and student fees after the annual payments for the land purchase loan are paid. That money would be returned to the city either to help pay off the loan or to maintain the park.

"This piece of property has meant so much to the city historically — no matter what side you were on — I want to emphasize that whatever the city puts in it will get back," Bornstein said.

Editorial

D.C. 5/16/81

Fifteen years ago yesterday, James Rector drove from San Jose to Berkeley to visit a friend. In those days, Berkeley was the place to be. By 1969 the student counterculture movement had come to full flower and Berkeley was its West Coast seedbed. But Rector picked the wrong day to visit our city. On that particular Thursday a grim cloud hung over Berkeley, a cloud of CS riot gas.

At 4:45 that morning, May 15, 1969, Lt. Robert Ludden of the Berkeley Police Department raised his megaphone and told 50 people sitting around campfires on a muddy vacant lot south of the UC Berkeley campus to leave or face prosecution for trespassing on university property.

At 5:09 a.m., after three arrests, People's Park was cleared. By 10:30 a.m., the San Jose Steel Fence Company had pounded in the last stake of an eight-foot steel chain-link fence surrounding the park.

The university had claimed its land. By 5:00 p.m. that same day, when order was restored, the university could also claim responsibility for a casualty list of 58 wounded.

While the concrete moorings of the new fence were still wet, a crowd of protesters gathered on Sproul Plaza. Then ASUC President-elect Dan Siegal had barely finished suggesting the crowd go to the park when the 3,000 protesters streamed down Telegraph Avenue.

At Telegraph and Haste, the demonstration met a well-equipped battalion of police that could have stopped an invading army, much less a crowd of students. UC and Berkeley police, the Alameda "blue meanies," and by day's end the San Francisco tactical squad and reinforcements from six local cities used night sticks, tear gas, shotguns and high-powered rifles to drive away the protesters.

James Rector watched the protest with some friends from the roof of Granma's bookstore on Telegraph and Dwight. When someone two rooftops away from Rector threw a rock at the police below, they whirled and fired at Rector. Four days later, after doctors at Herrick Hospital had extracted a bullet from Rector's liver, removed his spleen, left kidney, part of his pancreas, and a section of his bowel, he died.

When doctors began removing pellets from injured demonstrators, they found the police were using buckshot instead of less deadly bird-shot. It was later discovered as well that they used CS riot gas, "blister gas," instead of ordinary CN tear gas. CS gas is banned for use in war by the Geneva Convention.

The People's Park protest in 1969 marks an important turning point in the history of protest and dissent in America. In some sense, it was the last gasp of the non-violent, peaceful phase of the movement. In 1968, Chicago's Mayor Daley showed how tough the establishment could get, but then California Governor Reagan declared outright war. For ten days after May 15, 1969, the governor imposed a ten o'clock curfew on the city of Berkeley. He called in the National Guard, and helicopters regularly circled overhead.

People's Park stands as a powerful symbol of Berkeley's and America's past. Although the fence came down in 1970, the university still owns the land and still prohibits community development of the land. The swing sets and park benches torn out in 1969 have not returned.

In 1982, UC Berkeley Chancellor I. Michael Heyman announced he would seek a consensus from students, the community and the university on a permanent future use for the park. The group has been meeting since, but progress has been slow. This doesn't bother Heyman, however. He began his administrative rise in the late sixties, and he won't make the mistake Chancellor Heyns made in 1969. He won't touch the park, he said, until "an extremely broad" consensus has been reached.

Unfortunately, the same can't be said of some of the young student leaders on campus. ASUC President-elect Mike Gravely, by suggesting the park be half university playing field, shows at best, insensitivity, and at worst, as the recent Student Body Presidents Council condemnation of his proposal shows, political stupidity. But because he represents such a small part of just one of the many groups interested in the future of the park, his voice can fortunately be ignored.

For a real solution to the problem of preserving People's Park as a living historical monument, one must look to the small but growing movement in the state capital to declare the site a state historical monument, and to local efforts to get a resolution on the November ballot setting up a public land trust to manage the park collectively, and with sensitivity. Only then will the tragedy of Rector's death begin to fade.

City of Berkeley



LANDMARKS PRESERVATION COMMISSION
2180 MILVIA STREET
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94704

(415) 644-6490

NOTICE OF DECISION

FOR MEETING OF: November 19, 1984

PROPERTY ADDRESS: Dwight Way, Bowditch & Haste Street

Also Known As: People's Park

OWNER OF PROPERTY: University of California

(First Name) (Last Name)

689 University Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720

(Mailing Address) (City) (State) (Zip Code)

APPLICANT: Landmarks Preservation Commission

(First Name) (Last Name)

2180 Milvia Street Berkeley, CA 94704

(Mailing Address) (City) (State) (Zip Code)

WHEREAS, a public hearing has been duly and regularly held upon the above property, and the Landmarks Preservation Commission, being fully advised, has voted to (APPROVE/DENY) the application to Declare the site commonly known as People's Park a landmark for its historic and cultural importance to the City of Berkeley.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE it Resolved by the Landmarks Preservation Commission of the City of Berkeley that the decision is deemed final unless it is reversed, upon appeal, by the Council of the City of Berkeley.

VOTE: Aye: Manning, Stein, Youngmeister, Kasin Sparks

Nay: Doane, Hawthorne Abstain: Ehrenberger Absent: None

DATE NOTICE MAILED: 12/14/84

THE APPEAL PERIOD EXPIRES AT 5 PM: 12/29/84
File Appeal With City Clerk By This Date

cc: City Clerk
Residents of Property
Property owner
Public Works
Codes/Inspections
Property Records

ATTEST:

Mike Tolbert
SECRETARY

Rev. 12/83